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DEWITT CLINTON.

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THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

DE WITT CLINTON,

BY

WILLIAM W. CAMPBELL,

AUTHOR OF "BORDER WARFARE OF NEW YORK, OR ANNALS
OF TRYON COUNTY."

New York

BAKER AND SCRIBNER,

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CHARLES A. CLINTON, Esq. :

MY DEAR SIR—I now present you with this volume of your father's writings, containing, also, a brief Memoir of him, and a short sketch of the FAMILY OF CLINTON. I regret that I have not the time and the talent to prepare such a life of DE WITT CLINTON as is required, and which is due to his great abilities and distinguished public services. There are many reasons why such a work would be to me a labor of love. During the long public careers of GEORGE CLINTON and of DE WITT CLINTON, my grandfather and my father were their unwavering personal and political friends. The active agency of Gov. GEORGE CLINTON was greatly instrumental in procuring the release of my grandmother and her children from Indian captivity during the war of the revolution. It is a source of gratification to me, that we, of the third generation, have for many years been on terms of personal friendship. The lives of GEORGE and DE WITT CLINTON are yet to be written. The hand of time has already removed much of the rugged surface formed by the party politics of their day. The foundation is ready, and the materials are at hand, and the pen of the faithful and impartial biographer will yet rear noble monuments to their memory.

I am, very truly, your friend,

WILLIAM W. CAMPBELL.

New York, March 30, 1849.

NEW YORK, March 31, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR—

I cheerfully consent to the publication of the writings of my father, contained in the present volume. It is probable that the public may feel sufficient interest in them to justify the issue of other volumes—in which event I will furnish all the facilities in my power. I think it preferable to supply the materials for his biography, to undertaking the work myself, as I might be liable to the imputation of partiality; and when the ties of consanguinity are so very close, the charge would generally seem to be justified.

In our last conversation, you made several inquiries, which I now answer as concisely as possible. In reference to the papers of my relative, Gov. GEORGE CLINTON, I will merely observe that it was my father's intention to have written his biography, but he was unable to procure the materials for the purpose, as the legal representative of his uncle considered them too valuable to be parted with. This is to be regretted, as Gov. GEORGE CLINTON was not only a prominent soldier during the Revolutionary War, but occupied distinguished offices in civil life for many years. His papers, I understand, are voluminous, but have never been accessible to my father or myself.

There have been several biographical sketches of my father, but only two that have any pretension to the character of a biography. One, an elaborate and well-written Memoir by that

eminent physician, Dr. David Hosack, and a small volume written by my friend, Professor Renwick, of Columbia College, for the use of the Common Schools of this State. The latter is necessarily very brief and imperfect, but as far as it goes is creditable to the author.

You ask which is the best portraiture of my father? There have been several. One by Col. Trumbull; a full length, by Catlin; one by Jarvis; and others by distinguished artists. I must not omit to mention an admirable miniature by Rogers, which was painted several years before his death. His friends, however, have adopted Ingham's portrait as the most faithful. It is certainly a very strong resemblance, although the expression is somewhat stern. The original is in the possession of Mr. Philip Hone, of this city. There have been three copies of it—one by Mr. Ingham, and two by that accomplished artist, the late Mr. Henry Inman. There have been several busts, one of which is in the Governor's Room in the City Hall, an admirable work of art, but an imperfect resemblance. One has recently been made for a gentleman of this city by Launitz & Frazee; but the best is probably by Coffee. The original medallion was engraved for Dr. Hosack's Memoir. There was, also, a cast taken during his life by Browerre, at least one copy of which remains.

The Address before the Alumni of Columbia College, contained in this volume, is now printed for the first time. You will observe by the manuscript that it is written *currente calamo*, and was not even transcribed. It is a rough draft without revision or emendation. I had some doubts in reference to the pub-

lication of the Canal Journal ; but upon the whole thought it sufficiently curious to justify me in giving it to the public. It is written in the careless and familiar manner which usually characterizes a diary. It is curious, as presenting a picture of Western New York, in 1810 ; and will probably be interesting to the inhabitants of the particular localities described. The contrast between the almost western wilderness of New York in 1810, and the western garden of New York in 1849, is a striking commentary on the utility of the system of Internal Improvements, which this State has so successfully adopted. Probably there is no district of country in the whole United States which presents so pleasing a picture of prosperity and happiness, accomplished by the sagacity of the few and the enterprise and intelligence of the whole community.

Having thus briefly responded to all your inquiries, I cannot conclude without assuring you of my esteem and friendship.

CHARLES A. CLINTON.

WILLIAM W. CAMPBELL, Esq.

Clinton.

SKETCH OF THE CLINTON FAMILY.

Col. Charles Clinton.

THE name of CLINTON has been prominent for the last hundred years, both in the colonial and state history of New-York. For nearly forty years of that period, individuals of that name have held the high and responsible trust of governor, besides filling many other offices of a military, legislative, and judicial character. The different branches of the family were originally from England. The first of the name who was distinguished here was the colonial governor, George Clinton, who was the youngest son of Francis, sixth Earl of Lincoln, and who was governor of the province of New York from 1743 to 1753. He returned to England, and was afterwards appointed governor of Greenwich Hospital. He was the father of Sir Henry Clinton, who was in command of the English army during a part of the revolution.

William Clinton, the ancestor of De Witt Clinton, was

an adherent to the cause of royalty in the civil wars of England, and an officer in the army of Charles I. After the death of that monarch he went to the continent, where he remained a long time in exile. He afterwards passed over to Scotland, where he married a lady of the family of Kennedy. From Scotland he removed to Ireland, where he died, leaving one son. This son, James Clinton, on arriving at manhood, made an unsuccessful effort to recover his patrimonial estates in England. While in England he married a Miss Smith, a daughter of a captain in the army of Cromwell, and with his wife returned and settled in Ireland.

✓ CHARLES CLINTON, the son of this marriage, and the grandfather of DE WITT CLINTON, was born in the county of Longford, in Ireland, in 1690. In 1729 he determined to emigrate to America. Being a man of influence, he prevailed upon a large number of his neighbors and friends to remove with him. He sailed from Dublin in a vessel called the *George and Anne*, in May, 1729, and by a receipt preserved among his papers, it seems that he paid for the passages of ninety-four persons.

They were unfortunate in the selection of a vessel. The captain was a violent and unprincipled villain. They were poorly supplied with stores, and the voyage proving long, they suffered from disease and famine. A large number of passengers died, including a son and daughter of Mr. Clinton. They were finally landed upon the coast

of Massachusetts. The captain refused to go to New York, or to Pennsylvania, though the latter was his original place of destination. Charles Clinton remained in Massachusetts until 1731, when he removed to the province of New York, and settled at a place called Little Britain, in a region designated as the precincts of the Highlands, afterwards a part of Ulster, and now a part of Orange county. Though within a few miles of the Hudson River, and within sixty or seventy miles of the city of New York, the residence of Mr. Clinton was on the frontier of civilization. The virgin wilderness was around him. In the language of some of the inhabitants of Ulster county after this period, in a petition to the Colonial Legislature asking for protection, they say that they are bounded on the west by the desert—a desert where, instead of the roaming Arab, the wild Indian erected his cabin, and “made his home and his grave.” The inhabitants of that district were compelled to fortify their houses in order to guard against inroads of the savages. In the subsequent Indian and French wars Charles Clinton took an active and efficient part. In 1758 we find him in command of a regiment of provincial troops, stationed in the valley of the Mohawk, and in the summer of that year he joined the main army under General Bradstreet, on his way to Canada, and was present with him at the capture of Fort Frontenac. Colonel Charles Clinton was a good mathematical scholar, and frequently acted as

surveyor of lands; an employment of considerable importance and emolument in a new country. He was also a judge of the court of Common Pleas of Ulster county. He sustained a pure and elevated character, was neat in his person and dignified in his manners, and exerted a great influence in the district of country where he lived.

In a letter to his son James, who was in the army, dated June, 1759, he says: "My advice to you is, to be diligent in your duty to God, your king and country, and avoid bad company as much as in your province lies; forbear learning habits of vice, for they grow too easily upon men in a public station, and are not easily broke off. Profane habits make men contemptible and mean. That God may grant you grace to live in his fear, and to discharge your duty with a good conscience, is the sincere desire of your affectionate father, Charles Clinton." Among his papers, carefully preserved and written upon parchment, is the following certificate. It was his Christian passport, which he carried with him when he embarked for the New World:

✓ "Whereas the bearer, Mr. Charles Clinton, and his wife Elizabeth, lived within the bounds of this Protestant dissenting congregation from their infancy, and now design for America; this is to certify, that all along they behaved themselves soberly and inoffensively, and are fit to be received into any Christian congregation where Providence may cast their lot. Also, that said Charles Clinton was a member of our session, and discharged the office of ruling elder very acceptably; this, with advice of session, given at Corbay, in the county of Longford, Ireland.

"JOSEPH BOND, Minister."

I need scarcely add that Charles Clinton took an active part in the promotion of the cause of religion and good morals. He sometimes also courted the muses, and in the *Commonplace-Book* of De Witt Clinton, the following lines were preserved :

LINES

Written by my grandfather CHARLES CLINTON, and spoken over the grave of a dear departed sister, who had often nursed and taken care of him in his younger days.

“ Oh canst thou know, thou dear departed shade,
The mighty sorrows that my soul invade ;
Whilst o’er thy mouldering frame I mourning stand,
And view thy grave far from thy native land ?
With thee my tender years were early trained,
Oft have thy friendly arms my weight sustained ;
And when with childish fears or pains oppressed,
You with soft music lull’d my soul to rest.”

He concludes his last Will, made in 1771, and a short time before his decease, with the following directions :

“ It is my will I be buried in the grave-yard on my own farm, beside my daughter Catharine ; and it is my will, the said grave-yard be made four rods square, and open free road to it at all times when it shall be necessary ; and I nominate and appoint my said three sons, Charles, James, and George, executors of this my last will, to see the same executed accordingly ; and I order that my said executors procure a suitable stone to lay over my grave, whereon I would have the time of my death, my age, and coat of arms cut. I hope they will indulge me in this last piece of vanity.”


He died on the 19th of November, 1773, at his own residence, in the 83d year of his age, and in the full view of that revolution in which his sons were to act such distinguished parts. In his last moments he conjured them to stand by the liberties of America.

His wife, Elizabeth Denniston, to whom he was married in Ireland, was an accomplished and intelligent woman. She appears to have been well acquainted with the military operations of the times, and to have shared largely in the patriotic ardor of her husband and her sons. She died at the residence of her son James, on the 25th of December, 1779, in the 75th year of her age.

They left four sons : Alexander, Charles, James, and George. The two former were physicians of considerable eminence. Charles was a surgeon in the British navy at the capture of the Havana. George Clinton was the youngest son : he was a soldier and a statesman. He was engaged in the French war and in the Revolution ; he was a member of the Provincial Assembly just before the Revolution, and in that body was a fearless advocate of his country's liberty. He was the first governor of the State of New York, and for twenty-one years was continued in that high and responsible office, and exerted, perhaps, a larger influence than any other man over the then future destinies of the Empire State. He closed his eventful life while filling the chair of Vice-President of the United States.

Gen. James Clinton.

JAMES CLINTON, the third son, and the father of DE WITT Clinton, was born on the 9th of August, 1736, at the family residence in Little Britain. It has truly been said of him, that he was a warrior from his youth upward. Born upon the frontiers, with a hardy and vigorous constitution, and accustomed to alarms and Indian incursions, he became in early life attached to the profession of arms. As early as 1757, he received an ensign's commission, and in the following year he was commissioned first lieutenant by James Delancey, lieutenant-governor of the then province of New York, and empowered to enlist troops; and in 1759, being then twenty-three years of age, he attained the rank of captain in the provincial army. In 1758, a considerable army, under General Bradstreet, passed up the Mohawk valley, and thence to Lake Ontario, and by a well-directed attack, captured Fort Frontenac from the French. Colonel Charles Clinton was at this time in command of Fort Herkimer, near the German Flats, in the Mohawk valley; and as before mentioned, joined General Bradstreet with his regiment. James Clinton was also in this expedition, and commanded a company; his brother George being lieutenant. At the attack upon Fort Frontenac, he ex-



hibited an intrepidity of character which gained him great credit. He and his brother were instrumental in capturing one of the French vessels. The capture of this fort was one of the brilliant exploits of the French war.

Colonel Charles Clinton states in his journal, that "the destruction of this place (meaning Fort Frontenac,) and of the shipping, artillery, and stores, is one of the greatest blows the French have met with in America, considering the consequences of it, as it was the store out of which all the forts to the southward were supplied; and the shipping destroyed there, they employed in that service." The expedition was conducted with secrecy, and the French were taken unprepared. The fort contained but a small garrison, and was carried the second day after the commencement of the siege. Similar expeditions were common in that war. Armies plunged into the wilderness and forced their way up streams and over morasses with great labor and difficulty. The province of New York was the principal battle-ground. Fortresses were erected on the whole then northern frontier, extending from Lake George through the valley of the Mohawk, and along the shores of Lake Ontario to the vicinity of the great cataract itself. The Englishman and the Anglo-American fought side by side against France and her dependencies, and it seemed at times as if the fate of nations three thousand miles removed was to be decided by the hot con-

tests of their armies amid the green forests of this western world.

From 1758 to 1763, James Clinton continued in the provincial army; now stationed upon the frontier posts, engaged in the border skirmishes, and now enlisting new recruits under orders from the colonial governors, Sir Charles Handy, James Delancey, and Cadwallader Colden. In the latter year, 1763, he raised and commanded a corps of two hundred men, who were designated as *guards of the frontier*. He continued in the army until the close of the French war, and seems to have enjoyed, in a large degree, the confidence of the government and of his fellow soldiers.

After the close of the war he retired to his farm at Little Britain, and married Mary De Witt, a daughter of Egbert De Witt, a young lady of great respectability, whose ancestors were from Holland. He had four sons by this marriage; Alexander, who was private secretary to his uncle George; Charles, who was a lawyer in Orange county; De Witt, the third son, born in March, 1769; and George, who was also a lawyer and a member of Congress—all of whom are now deceased.

James Clinton, however, in time of peace, could not entirely forget the military life. He entered with zeal into the militia organization, and was a lieutenant colonel of a regiment in Orange county. At the commencement of the Revolutionary War he entered warmly into the conti-

mental service. His brother George had been for many years a representative in the Colonial Assembly from his native county, and had from the first advocated his country's cause with that fearlessness and energy of character for which he was distinguished.

✓ The two brothers were not unmindful of the dying injunctions of their father, and, hand in hand, at the first moment of outbreak, they entered the arena and joined their pledges of faith and support to the colonial cause.

In 1775, James Clinton was appointed colonel of the third regiment of New York troops, raised by the order of the Continental Congress; and in 1776, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. In the summer of this year he was employed in the expedition against Canada, under Gen. Montgomery, and was before the walls of Quebec at the time of the fall of that brave and gallant general. In the summer of 1777, that gloomy period when almost the whole force of the British armies in America was concentrated upon the State of New York, Gen. Clinton was stationed at Fort Montgomery, upon the Hudson River, and together with his brother the governor, made a firm though unsuccessful resistance to the advance of the enemy, under Sir Henry Clinton.

During the greater part of 1778, Gen. Clinton was stationed at West Point, and for a portion of that year was engaged in throwing a chain across the Hudson to prevent the ascent of the river by the enemy's ships. The

summer of that year has been rendered memorable upon the then frontiers, by reason of the massacres of Wyoming and Cherry Valley, under armies of Indians and Tories, led on by the Butlers and Brant. On the 16th of November, 1778, and just after the massacre at Cherry Valley, which occurred on the 11th of that month, Gen. Washington wrote to Gen. Hand, acknowledging the receipt of his letter containing the information of the destruction of that place, and adds, "It is in the highest degree distressing to have our frontiers so continually harrassed by this collection of banditti under Brant and Butler." He then inquires whether offensive operations could not be carried on against them at that season of the year, and if not then, when and how. This letter was probably referred to Gen. Clinton, as it has been preserved among his papers; and it contains the first intimation which I have seen of that expedition against the Six Nations in the following year, known as Sullivan's expedition, in which Gen. Clinton was called to act a distinguished part.]

It was determined to "carry the war into Africa." In other words, it was resolved to overrun the whole Indian country, and thus, if possible, put an end to the constant and harassing inroads of the enemy upon the frontier settlements. For this purpose extensive preparations were made, and after some difficulty in obtaining a commander, the expedition was intrusted to Gen. Sullivan. It was decided that the army should move early in the Spring

of 1779. Gen. Sullivan was to cross to Easton, in Pennsylvania, and into the valley of the Susquehanna, while Gen. Clinton was to pass up the Mohawk Valley, and either unite with Sullivan in the Indian country, or else cross over from the Mohawk River to Lake Otsego, and proceed thence down the eastern branch of the Susquehanna. The latter route was finally determined upon, though Gen. Washington preferred the former, as did Gen. Clinton. The latter gave as his reasons that the army could move up the Mohawk Valley and enter the Indian country with more ease and less delay, and that a movement in that direction would be more decisive and fatal to the Indians. The whole expedition was, however, under the control of Gen. Sullivan, who preferred the other route, and it was adopted.

On the 1st of June, 1779, Gen. Clinton's detachment, consisting of about two thousand troops, moved from Albany and proceeded up the Mohawk Valley as far as Canajoharie. Here they pitched their camp, and with great labor carried over their boats and stores to the head of Lake Otsego—a distance of nearly twenty miles.

On the 1st of July, Gen. Clinton broke up his camp at Canajoharie, and crossed over to Lake Otsego, where his boats and stores had previously been carried, and, launching his boats, passed down to the outlet, and again encamped upon the spot where now is built the beautiful village of Cooperstown, the Templeton of the Pioneers.

Two hundred and eight batteaux, and a large amount of provisions and military stores, had been carried across from the Mohawk River. Here, under date of 13th of July, Gen. Clinton writes to Mrs. Clinton, saying that she probably expects that the army is in the midst of the Indian country, but that he is still waiting orders to move; that he is impatient for them, but that his situation is by no means unpleasant; that he can catch perch in the lake and trout in the streams, and hunt the deer upon the mountains.

On the 22d of August, this division arrived at Tioga, and joined the main army under Gen. Sullivan.

On the 26th of August, the whole army moved from Tioga up the river of that name, and on the 29th fell in with the enemy at Newtown. Here a spirited engagement took place, in which the enemy was routed. When it was first announced that an army was marching into their country, the Indians laughed at their supposed folly, believing it impossible for a regular army to traverse the wilderness and drive them from their fastnesses.

On the 14th of September the army arrived at the Genesee River, and the rich alluvial bottom lands which now constitute the garden of this State had even then been extensively cultivated by the Indians. Scarcely a tree was to be seen over the whole extent. Modern curiosity and enterprise had not then rendered familiar the mighty valleys and prairies of the West, and officers and

soldiers gazed alike with surprise and admiration upon the rich prospect before them. The army, as it emerged from the woods, and as company after company filed off and formed upon the plain, presented an animating and imposing spectacle.

The whole country of the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and Senecas was overrun by this expedition.

In the early part of 1780, the year following the expedition against the Six Nations, Gen. Clinton was stationed upon the Hudson River. In October of that year, and after the discovery of the treason of Arnold, Gen. Washington wrote to Gen. Clinton, then at West Point, as follows: "As it is necessary there should be an officer in whom the State has confidence, to take the general direction of affairs at Albany and on the frontier, I have fixed upon you for this purpose, and request you will proceed to Albany without delay, and assume the command. You will be particularly attentive to the post at Fort Schuyler, and do everything in your power to have it supplied with a good stock of provisions and stores, and you will take every other precaution the means at your command will permit for the security of the frontier, giving the most early advice of any incursions of the enemy."

Gen. Clinton repaired to Albany, and took the direction of affairs in the northern department, according to the instructions of the Commander-in-chief. That post had been one of great responsibility during the whole of the

war, and at the time of Gen. Clinton's appointment it had not lost its importance.

He continued at Albany until August, 1781, when he embarked the troops immediately under his command, for the purpose of joining the Commander-in-chief, and was succeeded in the command of the northern army by Gen. Stark.

In the winter or spring of 1782 some promotions were made by the Continental Congress, by which a junior officer took precedence over Gen. Clinton. The veteran soldier could not brook what he deemed a great injury. He solicited and obtained leave to withdraw from the active duties of the camp. In a letter dated April 10th, 1782, Gen. Clinton says :

“At an early period of the war I entered into the service of my country, and I have continued in it during all the vicissitudes of fortune, and am conscious that I have exerted my best endeavor to serve it with fidelity. I have never sought emolument or promotion ; and as the different commands I have held were unsolicited, I might have reasonably expected, if my services were no longer wanted, to have been indulged at least with a decent dismissal.”

He did not retire from the army entirely, but joined again the Commander-in-chief, and was present at the evacuation of New York, where he took leave of Gen. Washington, and retired to his farm at Little Britain.

The war was happily terminated, and peace again reigned along the borders.

Gen. James Clinton was afterwards called to fill several important stations. He was a member of the Convention called to ratify the Constitution of the United States, he was elected a member of the State Senate, a member of the Convention to revise the Constitution of New York, and was appointed a Commissioner to run the boundary line between New York and Pennsylvania.

With the exceptions above mentioned, the residue of Gen. Clinton's life, after the war, was spent in peaceful retirement upon his estate at Little Britain.

He died at his residence in 1812, just at the commencement of another war. He had seen his country under all the vicissitudes of good and evil fortune.

The pen of his illustrious son has recorded his epitaph, and thus beautifully sums up his character :

"His life was principally devoted to the military service of his country, and he had filled, with fidelity and honor, several distinguished civil offices.

"He was an officer in the revolutionary war and the war preceding, and at the close of the former was a major-general in the army of the United States. He was a good man and a sincere patriot ; performing in the most exemplary manner all the duties of life, and he died as he had lived, without fear and without reproach."

De Witt Clinton.

DE WITT CLINTON, the third son of Gen. James Clinton, was born on the 2d of March, 1769, at the family residence, in Little Britain, in the county of Orange. His early education was conducted at the grammar-school of his native town, and he was afterwards sent to the academy at Kingston. Education was almost lost sight of during the revolutionary war, and at that period the academy at Kingston was the only seminary in the State; here, all the young men desirous of a classical education resorted. In the spring of 1784, he entered the junior class of Columbia College; his address to the alumni of that institution, which will be found in this volume, and which was his last literary effort, contains a graphic description of the college edifice as it appeared at the close of the war, with sketches of its early professors, and an account of his own introduction as the first student after its revival—when the name of King's College was discarded, and that of Columbia substituted. While in college, he commenced that practice of reading with his pen in his hand, which he continued down to the close of his life. During his first collegiate year, his common-place book shows that he read

and made extracts from nearly one hundred different works. He was graduated in 1786, at the head of his class, and soon after commenced the study of the law with Samuel Jones, then an eminent lawyer in the city of New York. He was pursuing his legal studies when the Convention assembled, which gave to us as a rule, and to the world as a model, the Constitution of the United States.

The publications of the members of that Convention, in favor of the Constitution, did not escape the attention of the young student.

The first Constitution of the State of New York emanated from a Convention which sat a portion of the time with arms in their hands; and, driven from place to place during a dark and stormy period of the revolution, closed its labors in the spring of 1777, at Kingston, in the county of Ulster. On the 17th day of June, 1788, another Convention assembled at Poughkeepsie, in the county of Dutchess, for the purpose of considering and ratifying the Constitution of the United States. This Convention embraced almost all the distinguished men of the State, and the mention of whose names can hardly fail to awaken emotions of pride in the bosom of every New Yorker. From the city of New York, the delegates were John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, Robert R. Livingston, Richard Morris, and James Duane; and they were all in favor of the adoption of the Constitution. From Albany, Col. Peter

Gansevoort, John Lansing, Jr., Robert Yates, and others, with Melancthon Smith from the county of Dutchess, Gen. James Clinton from Orange, and Gov. George Clinton from Ulster, were opposed to an unconditional adoption ; and a majority of the members, when elected, entertained similar views with the latter gentlemen. From the commencement of the session of this Convention to its close, during a period of six weeks, the debates were able, earnest, and instructive. Gov. Clinton was chosen to preside over its deliberations.

Hamilton, Livingston, and Jay advocated the adoption of the Constitution with ardor and eloquence, and they enriched their discourses with the learning of ancient and modern times.

Though a considerable majority of the Convention was elected in opposition, and though Gov. Clinton was numbered with that majority, and to the last refused to yield his assent, yet, when the vote was finally taken, a majority of the Convention voted for the adoption of the Constitution ; and New York, on the 26th day of July, 1788, entered into the Union of the States. Among the numerous citizens assembled at this most interesting and important Convention, and who watched from day to day the changing phases of thought and opinion, was De Witt Clinton. He was nineteen years of age, and even then, was commanding in person and dignified in manners. The late Chancellor Kent once stated to the writer that he

met De Witt Clinton at that time; and he described his appearance as he recollected it, on that first meeting of two young men, both of whom were destined to fill such large spaces in the history of their native State. The future Chancellor had just commenced the practice of the law in the village of Poughkeepsie, in partnership with Gilbert Livingston, who was a member of the Convention, and whose political sympathies were with the Clintons. Mr. Kent was in favor of the Constitution, and was a Federalist. In such times of political excitement there was not that close and confidential intercourse which might otherwise have existed between two young and highly gifted men. The visit paid by Mr. Clinton to Mr. Kent was formal, but courteous, and the venerable Chancellor at the age of four score spoke with animation of the fine personal appearance of the youthful statesman; he remarked that Mr. Clinton even then had a hauteur in his manner, which whether arising from pride or from diffidence he did not pretend to decide, and which in after life was contrasted strongly with the character and bearing of some of his political competitors.

De Witt Clinton was an active and observing attendant upon the debates of the Convention, and he communicated the substance of the speeches, and his own impressions and opinions, to his political friends in the city of New York, through the columns of a journal of that day. He entered zealously into the views of his uncle and his

father, and to the last opposed with them the unconditional adoption of the Federal Constitution. With them he gave the Constitution his unqualified support when it was ratified and became the supreme law of the land.

On the death of his brother Alexander, De Witt Clinton about the year 1789 was appointed to succeed him as private secretary to his uncle, Gov. George Clinton; he held this situation down to 1795, and during that period was actively engaged in the political controversies of the times. In 1797 he was elected to the Assembly, and in 1798 to the Senate of the State; of both bodies he was an active and efficient member, and he took a leading part in the political and legislative movements of New York. He was a member of the Council of Appointment, and differing with the chief magistrate upon the question whether the sole power of nomination to office was vested by the Constitution in the Governor, or whether it was shared also by the members of the Council, a convention was called, and the construction contended for by Mr. Clinton was adopted. Of the wisdom of that decision, it is said, Mr. Clinton himself afterwards doubted; and in the subsequent Constitution of 1822, the exclusive power of nomination was restored to the Governor.

In 1802, De Witt Clinton, then only thirty-three years of age, was elected to the Senate of the United States. In the month of February, 1803, a debate arose in the Senate on certain resolutions introduced by Mr. Ross, of

Pennsylvania, which elicited the talent and the learning of that body. These resolutions authorized the President to take immediate possession of New Orleans, and empowered him to call out thirty thousand militia to effect that object. It was alledged that Spain had given, by treaty, to the citizens of the United States the right to deposit their goods at that place, and that she then interdicted it. In this debate Mr. Clinton took a prominent part, and he deprecated the passage of the resolutions as leading to war, and recommended that peaceable negotiations should be substituted. His speech on that occasion will be found in this volume. It was during that debate that Gouverneur Morris, also in the Senate, from the State of New York, thus spoke of Mr. Clinton: "I will not pretend, like my honorable colleague, to describe to you the waste, the ravages, and the horrors of war; I have not the same harmonious periods, nor the same musical tones; neither shall I boast of Christian charity, nor attempt to display that ingenuous glow of benevolence so decorous to the cheek of youth, which gave a vivid tint to every sentence he uttered, and was, if possible, as impressive even as his eloquence."

✓ In the summer of 1803, Edward Livingston, then Mayor of the city of New York, was appointed United States District Attorney for the district of New York; and he was succeeded in the Mayoralty by Mr. Clinton. The office of Mayor, with the exception of one or two years, Mr. Clinton continued to hold until 1815. The judicial

powers at that period belonging to the office, and the large emoluments which it brought to the incumbent, rendered its possession desirable to the leading men of the State. While holding this office, and especially during the war, the charges of Mr. Clinton to the Grand Juries were able, eloquent, and patriotic. Though on his appointment he was obliged to resign his seat in the Senate of the United States, yet he was elected to the Senate of New York, and occupied a seat in that body for several years of his Mayoralty, and during that period was the author and advocate of laws covering almost the entire range of State legislation. During the sessions of 1809, 1810, and 1811, "he introduced laws to prevent kidnapping or the further introduction of slaves, and to punish those who should treat them inhumanly; for the support of the quarantine establishment; for the encouragement of missionary societies; for the improvement of the public police; for the prevention and punishment of crime; for perfecting the militia system; for promoting medical science, and for endowing seminaries of education." It was in the summer of 1810 that he and his associates, the first Canal Commissioners, examined the valley of the Mohawk and the western part of the State for the purpose of learning the practicability of constructing a canal from the Hudson to the lakes. The valuable and interesting journal kept by Mr. Clinton during that tour will be found in this volume, and is now first given to the public. It contains a picture of a large and

most important portion of the Empire State as presented to the eye of a keen and minute observer forty years ago.


✓ In 1811 Mr. Clinton was elected lieutenant-governor of New York, and in the following year was nominated in opposition to Mr. Madison to the station of President of the United States. He was unsuccessful, receiving eighty-nine electoral votes, while Mr. Madison received one hundred and twenty-eight.

This event is said by his friends to have produced an unhappy influence both upon his political and private fortunes. However this may be, he devoted himself with zeal and success to literary pursuits; and he continued also to press the subject of internal improvements with renewed animation.

In December, 1811, he read before the New York Historical Society his celebrated discourse on the Iroquois or Six Nations of Indians, which is republished in this volume. It may be remarked in this connection ✓ that De Witt Clinton was one of the earliest and most efficient friends of that Society which now stands so prominent among kindred institutions in our country. In 1814, he was requested by the Society to prepare a memorial to the Legislature of New York for assistance, and ✓ which was answered by the State in a liberal grant of twelve thousand dollars. This memorial concludes as follows: "We have done much and we are willing to do more in order to preserve the history of the State from

oblivion ; we are influenced by no other motive than that of elevating the character and promoting the prosperity of a community to which we are bound by every tie that is deemed precious and sacred among men ; and let it not be said that the exigencies of the times and the pressure of a foreign war render it inexpedient to apply the public bounty to this object. The State is rich in funds, rich in credit, and rich in resources, and she ought to be rich in liberality and public spirit. Genuine greatness never appears in a more resplendent light or in a more sublime attitude than in that buoyancy of character which rises superior to danger and difficulty ; in that magnanimity of soul which cultivates the arts and sciences amidst the horrors of war, and in that comprehension of mind which cherishes all the cardinal interests of a country without being distracted or diverted by the most appalling considerations."

After the termination of the war the subject of a canal from the Hudson to the lakes was pressed upon the attention of the people and upon the consideration of the Legislature by Mr. Clinton. In 1816 a large meeting of many of the most influential citizens of the city of New York was held in that city, and a memorial in favor of the construction of the canal, drawn up by Mr. Clinton with great ability, was submitted and adopted. Indeed, his mind directed and his hand guided all its proceedings. On the 15th, of April, 1817, the Bill was passed, commit-



ting the State to the construction of the canals; and on the 4th of July following the work was commenced.

The star of Mr. Clinton's fortunes was again in the ascendant, and in the fall of 1817 he was elected Governor of New York. In 1815 he had been removed by his political opponents from the office of Mayor of the city of New York, and after the lapse of two years he was selected by the Republicans as their first man, and almost unanimously elected Governor of the Empire State. In 1820 Mr. Clinton was reëlected Governor, and during this and his previous term the prosecution of the works upon the canals was pressed with vigor and success.

In 1822 a Convention was called to form a new Constitution, and in that year Joseph C. Yates was elected Governor for the following two years. In 1824 Mr. Clinton was again elected Governor, and was retained in that high office to the period of his death. In his message of January, 1826, he refers to his message of 1818 when he congratulated the Legislature on the auspicious commencement of the canals, and he now announces their completion. In October, 1825, the work was completed, and Mr. Clinton passed in triumph from Lake Erie to the Hudson, and in alluding to it he says: "The auspicious consummation of the canals naturally called forth universal expressions of joy, not from a spirit of ostentation or vanity, but from a conviction that the moral impression would have a most felicitous effect in keeping alive a

noble spirit of improvement, in promoting other undertakings, and in elevating the character of the State."

On the 1st day of January, 1828, Gov. Clinton delivered his last message to the Legislature. He observes, in its commencement: "Peace, plenty, and health have presided over our land; war is a stranger; and famine and the pestilence that walketh in darkness are never experienced; instead of a scarcity, there is generally a superabundance of subsistence, an excess of production. The cordial anxiety of Henry IV, of France, that every peasant in his kingdom might have a fowl in his pot; and the benevolent prayer of a sovereign of Great Britain, that his poorest subject might have education sufficient to read the Bible, were, at the times they were uttered, considered chimeras of the imagination. In this fortunate land they are realized, so far as they apply, in the fullest latitude, and to the utmost extent; these distinguished dispensations of Divine Providence ought, indeed, to fill our hearts with gratitude, and our lives with devotion to the Author of every good and perfect gift."

In this connection, it may be remarked that Gov. Clinton was the first Governor who recommended to the people of this State days of public thanksgiving, a custom which has been happily continued.

And he concludes that last message with the following beautiful and impressive exhortation: "We are inhabitants of the same land, children of the same country, heirs

of the same inheritance, connected by identity of interest, similarity of language and community of descent, by the sympathies of religion, and by all the ligaments which now bind man to man in the closest bonds of friendship and alliance. Let us then enter on the discharge of our exalted and solemn duties by a course of conduct worthy of ourselves and our country ; which will deserve the applause of our constituents, insure the approbation of our own consciences, and call down the benediction of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe."

On the 11th day of February, 1828, De Witt Clinton died suddenly. He had been in attendance during the day in the Executive chamber, had returned home and written several letters, and while in his study conversing with two of his sons he complained of a stricture across his breast, and almost immediately expired.

His death called forth the warmest feelings of regret from all parts of the State, and of the United States ; and political friends and opponents united in expressions of admiration of his talents and great public services. The people of New York might certainly, with great cause, lament the death of him who had identified himself so closely with all the great interests of the State. Apart from the system of internal improvements, there is scarcely an institution of learning or benevolence in the State that he did not advocate, as a private citizen or a ruler ; scarcely a movement or an enterprise for meliorating the

condition of the unfortunate, or advancing the prosperity of the State during his active life, that he did not support with his utmost personal and official character.

Few men had, however, more bitter political enemies than Mr. Clinton; and it would be worse than idle to assert, that there was no cause for their animosity. He had his faults of character, and he gave cause for opposition. That opposition and that animosity were, in some instances, carried to extremes, and recoiled upon the heads of their authors and abettors. Such was that hostility which removed Mr. Clinton from the office of Canal Commissioner—when the people rose in their majesty, and marked their displeasure by placing him in the chair of state, by an overwhelming majority. When the resolution of the Senate directing the removal of Mr. Clinton came into the Assembly, Mr. Cunningham, a member of the latter body, in the course of a speech replete with eloquence, observed: “When the contemptible party strifes of the present day shall have passed by, and the political bargainers and jugglers who now hang round this capital for subsistence shall be overwhelmed and forgotten in their own insignificance—when the gentle breeze shall pass over the tomb of that great man, carrying with it the just tribute of honor and praise, which is now withheld, the pen of the future historian, in better days and in better times, will do him justice, and erect to his memory a proud monument of fame, as imperishable as the splendid

works which owe their origin to his genius and perseverance."

That better day has not yet arrived, though it is a consolation to know that the materials for the pen of the historian are abundant. The mellowing hand of time has even now softened and removed most of the party and political asperities of the times of De Witt Clinton. It was his good fortune, that his fame rested not upon the basis of party success or political triumph. His success was in the efforts of talent, and genius, and perseverance in the promotion of education, the diffusion of benevolence, and the increase of wealth and prosperity. His triumph was that of art over nature—in the creation of new channels of trade, and in opening new fields of enterprise. Neither his successes nor his triumphs were the results of party ascendancy. In reference to the cause of internal improvements, Mr. Clinton was, doubtless, much favored by an early acquaintance with the condition and prospects of the central and western parts of the State. His grandfather, his father, and his uncle had all been officers in the Provincial army, and the two latter in the Continental army, and from their position and employment, had extensive opportunities of becoming familiar with the natural advantages possessed by the State for the construction of canals, and with the probable effect of such improvements upon her trade and population. De Witt Clinton did not claim to be the originator of these State

works. But it was mainly owing to his energy and perseverance that the State entered upon that great career of prosperity. In the language of one of his friends:—
“In the great work of internal improvement he persevered through good report and through evil report, with a steadiness of purpose that no obstacle could divert; and when all the elements were in commotion around him, and even his chosen associates were appalled, he alone, like Columbus on the wide waste of waters, in his frail bark, with a disheartened and unbelieving crew, remained firm, self-poised and unshaken.”

H

Dr Witt Clinton.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE.

ADDRESS TO THE ALUMNI, MAY, 1827.

THE commune vinculum, as applied by the great orator of Rome to the liberal arts and sciences, may be properly extended to their votaries and cultivators, who, whenever they appear and wherever they exist, are combined by kindred ties and congenial pursuits, into one great intellectual community, denominated the Republic of Letters. If this alliance is cultivated with so much zeal and with such distinguished honor to its members, with how much ardor must its principles be cherished, on a more limited scale and with more concentrated power, by those disciples of the same great seminary, who have derived their intellectual aliment from a common parent, and who have received their education from the same source ; all who are assembled at this place, and on this occasion must feel the full force and bow to the controlling ascendancy of this sentiment ; and I know of no assemblage which is better calculated to awaken the enthusiasm of our youthful days, and to brighten the rays of our setting sun, than a convention of the members of three generations, constituted like

the present, and called to sacrifice under the protecting roof of our Alma Mater, at the altar of science and literature, to recal to our recollection the transporting scenes of our Collegiate lives, and to realize and renew those friendships which were formed in youth, and will last as long as the pulsations of the heart and the operations of memory.

In making my appearance before this enlightened and respectable audience, I might with great truth find ample room for apology in suggesting the little time which my public avocations have left for suitable preparation, but I shall rely on your kind consideration, and I trust that you will judge of me by my motives, not by my performance; and when I assure you that nothing but an ardent desire to evince my respect and devotion to our Alma Mater could have induced me to comply with your request, I feel persuaded that you will overlook every deficiency, and that, in recognizing those delightful recollections and brilliant anticipations which surround her, I shall not be deemed in what I say, entirely undeserving of your regard.

The germ of our Alma Mater is noticed by William Smith in his interesting continuation of our Colonial History, which the public spirit of our Historical Society has given to the world. "This year" (1732), says the historian, "was the first of our public attention to the education of youth; provision was then made for the first time to support a Free School, for teaching the Latin and Greek tongues and the practical branches of the Mathematics, under the care of Mr. Alexander Malcolm, of Aberdeen, the author of a treatise upon Book-keeping. The measure was patronized by the Morris family, Mr. Alexander, and Mr. Smith, who presented a petition to the Assembly for that object. Such was the negligence of the day, that an in-

structor could not find bread from the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants, though our eastern neighbors had set us an example of erecting and endowing colleges early in the last century."

The Bill for this school, drafted by Mr. Philipse, the speaker, and brought in by Mr. Delancey, had this singular preamble: "Whereas, the youth of this Colony are found, by manifold experience, to be not inferior in their natural geniuses to the youth of any other country in the world, therefore be it enacted, &c." It appears that at that early period, it was thought necessary to vindicate our country against the degenerating and debasing qualities which have been since so liberally imparted to it by Buffum, and De Rue, Raynal, and Robertson. A legislative declaration, however anomalous, was certainly a sufficient refutation of the flimsy philosophy that brought forward the accusation; and as manifold experience was opposed to visionary speculation, the capacity of the inhabitants of New York for education was put into a train of high probation, which has terminated in the most pleasing results. Permit me to say, that I cannot reconcile the sensibility which we have manifested under such vituperations with the respect which we owe to our country. Charges so unfounded are beneath the dignity of refutation; and the country which has been called the land of swamps, of yellow fever, and universal suffrage, requires no advocate but truth, and no friend but justice, to place it on the highest elevation of triumphant vindication.

This praiseworthy measure was the harbinger of more enlarged views and more elevated establishments after many struggles. After much controversy about the site and the organization of a college, involving sectional and

local considerations, and referring to party combinations, a charter for King's College in this city, was granted in 1754, upon a liberal franchise. In four years afterwards, it was sufficiently matured for the conferring of degrees. The city of New York did not contain at that period, ten thousand inhabitants, and the population of the whole colony did not exceed half the present population of this city. The Faculty of Arts was composed of very able men, and we find among the names of the medical profession, persons who would even in the present improved and exalted state of that profession, rank amongst its most distinguished members. The civil war, which terminated in American Independence, broke up this institution after a brief existence of eighteen years, during which time about one hundred initiatory degrees were conferred, and on a rapid inspection of the printed catalogue with a very limited knowledge of the persons mentioned in it, I am persuaded that the truth of the legislative act is irresistibly established, and that in no period of time, nor in any country has an institution existed so fertile of enlightened, able, and talented men, within so small a portion of time and in such a small population.

Among the celebrated Divines, we perceive the names of Samuel Provost, Samuel Seabury, Benjamin Moore, Isaac Wilkins, and John Verdill. The first three have attained the honors of the miter, and have always ranked high as profound scholars. Wilkins was a distinguished writer at the commencement of the Revolution, and the publications ascribed to his pen have the stamp of genius and capacity. Verdill was a professor of Natural Law, History, and Languages in the college in which he was educated, and was also noted for his witty effusions on the side of roy-

alty. The best imitator of Butler has incorporated their names in his *McFingall*, as fit subjects for retaliation.

Among the enlightened Jurists sprung from this Seminary, we recognise with pride and pleasure, John Jay, Robert R. Livingston, Gouverneur Morris, Richard Harrison, Peter Van Schaick, and Robert Troup. The first three were distinguished in the public councils at the commencement of the Revolution. Livingston was one of the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence, and a man of various knowledge and splendid eloquence. Jay took a leading part in the celebrated State Papers which emanated from the first Congress, and which drew forth the following panegyric from the great Chatham: "When your lordships look at the papers transmitted to us from America, when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation, and it has been my favorite study (I have read *Thucydides* and have studied and admired the master States of the world), that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general Congress at Philadelphia."* Jay, Livingston, and Morris, were among the most active and enlightened members that formed the first State Constitu-

* Dr. Samuel Johnson, the Colossus of British Literature and a man of gigantic mind, undertook to answer the address of Congress. Compare this work entitled "*Taxation no Tyranny*" with the publications it pretended to answer—how great the contrast—the Giant dwindles into a Dwarf, and American talent shines with proud superiority above.

tion. The former was our first Chief-Justice, and a charge of his in that character to a Grand Jury of Ulster County is, perhaps, one of the most able and impressive papers published in those eventful times. Morris's intellectual character was distinguished by versatile and great qualities—his colloquial powers were unrivalled—at the Bar or in the Senate he was pre-eminent—he united wit, logic, pathos, and intelligence, and he wielded the passions and feelings of his audience at pleasure. Harrison and Van Schaick are still with us; and as I despise flattery of the living as much as I do gilding over the tombs of the departed, I shall say nothing that can subject me to the former imputation when I say, that no country can produce two men more deeply versed in classic lore or more profoundly acquainted with law. Troup was a meritorious soldier of the Revolution, and his transition from the camp to the bar has detracted nothing from his well-earned claims to respect. Alexander Hamilton, so well known for his great talents, was also a student of this college before the Revolution, and before he could attain its honors it was broken up. Although greatly attached to the learned President, Dr. Cooper, yet he had at that, as at all other times, the independence to think and act for himself. And he differed from his friend and wrote an article in favor of American Liberty. At that time the peace of the city was troubled by the conflicts of contending parties, and when an assemblage, greatly enraged at the anti-revolutionary course of President Cooper, collected before this building and had marked him out as an object of aggression, Hamilton placed himself in the gap between the people and his preceptor, addressed the former from the vestibule of this building, and delayed their measures until the

latter had time to escape from their fury. The poetical effusion ascribed to the President on this occasion, reflects great honor on his sensibility and genius, and commends, in appropriate strains, the merits of his friend and pupil.

It may be said of learning as of law, "*Inter arma, leges silent*,"—in the clash of contending armies and amid the groans of the wounded and the dying, the interests of education are sacrificed—the pacific virtues take their flight from the earth—the olive is stained with human blood, and the sanguinary laurel is the emblem and the reward of imputed greatness. This edifice was for many years a hospital for the British army; and when for the first time I visited the venerable building, it was just abandoned in that state. The genius of calamity and desolation appeared to have taken possession of its apartments; its floors were strewn with medical prescriptions, its walls were tinged with blood, and every echo of your passing footsteps sounded to the perturbed imagination like the murmurs of the dying or the complaints of departed spirits. During the Revolutionary War, education was almost totally lost sight of. An academy at Kingston was, I believe, the only seminary in the State, and almost all the young men desirous of classical education resorted to that useful institution.

Having thus, like Grey the poet, taken a distant view of our Alma Mater, we are able, as we approach the times in which we live, and can refer to events and scenes within our recollection, to institute a more accurate inspection, and to develop the characters and measures connected with its history, gratifying at once to our pride and filial affection. And I trust that whether we look at the qualities of our parent, in the aggregate or in detail, at

a distance or at near approach, we will have reason to say—

“Not more rever'd the hallow'd bow'rs,
Where Truth distill'd from Plato's honeyed tongue,
Nor those fair scenes where Tully's happier hours
In philosophic leisure fled along.”

As soon as the War of Independence terminated, the attention of the statesmen and patriots, who had conducted us triumphantly through the storms of the revolution, was turned to the revival of letters, the restoration of the lights of education, and the establishment of the Temple of Liberty upon the foundation of knowledge. In 1784, a Board was instituted, denominated the Regents of the University, with a superintending and visitorial power over Columbia College, and all future colleges and academies incorporated by that body. This Board was composed of the principal officers of Government and various distinguished citizens. On the 17th of May of that year, the first student was admitted into Columbia College, under the new order of things. The Regents of the University attended the examination in person, so important at that period did the Fathers of the Republic consider it, to countenance the incipient efforts in favor of intellectual improvement. I may say, I trust without the imputation of egotism, that I was the first student and among the first graduates of this our Alma Mater on its revival; and I shall never forget the reverential impression made on my youthful mind, by the condescension and devotion to education of the great men who, at that time, presided over the interests of the University. In the course of a few months our numbers were increased. Instructors were appointed, and apartments in the old City Hall were provided for

the temporary accommodation of the College, until it was rendered fit for our reception. No President was appointed for some years afterwards; and in the meantime it was thought expedient to resort to Europe, and William Cochran, a native of Ireland, and an Alumnus of Trinity College, was appointed a professor of the Greek and Latin languages; and John Kemp, a graduate of Aberdeen College, professor of Mathematics, and afterwards of Natural Philosophy. Cochran, although an admirable scholar, was at first disliked for hauteur of demeanor, which, in course of time, was softened down into the courteous behavior of an accomplished gentleman. Kemp was suddenly transferred from the monastic seclusions of a college life to the busy and arduous engagements of professor; and he was called upon to act with little experience of the world, with a total ignorance of the American character, and before the angular points and rough protuberances of a scholar were smoothed down by an intercourse with the world. His great science sustained him under this load of difficulties, and his popularity and usefulness increased with the progress of time. The Rev. Dr., afterwards Bishop Moore, was appointed professor of Rhetoric and Logic; and the composition and delivery of his lectures were received with more than usual interest, and with the most respectful attention. All who approached him were enchanted with the sincerity of his manners and with the dignity of his conduct. And few men ever possessed a more controlling ascendancy over the hearts of his pupils. The Rev. Dr. Gross, a native of Germany, who had received a finished education in her celebrated schools, was a professor of the German language and Geography, and afterwards a professor of Moral Phi-

losophy. He had migrated to this country before the Revolution and settled near the banks of the Mohawk, in a frontier country, peculiarly exposed to irruptions from Canada and the hostile Indians. When war commenced, he took the side of America; and, enthroned in the hearts of his countrymen, and distinguished for the courage which marks the German character, he rallied the desponding, animated the wavering, confirmed the doubtful, and encouraged the brave to more than ordinary exertion. With the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other, he stood forth in the united character of patriot and Christian, vindicating the liberties of mankind; and amidst the most appalling dangers and the most awful vicissitudes, like the red cross Knight of the Fairy Queen,

“Right faithful true he was in deed and word.”

This venerable man has long since descended to the tomb. He was almost idolized by his pupils while living, and he is now embalmed in their hearts. His lectures on Moral Philosophy were substantially sound and useful, although tinctured with the metaphysical subtleties of Leibnitz and Wolfe, from whom he derived the substratum of his system. If my memory serves me, it was deduced from two principles: one denominated the principle of sufficient reason, and the other the principle of contradiction. The foundation was perhaps too feeble for the edifice, and the conclusions more solid than the premises. And when the lecturer undertook to inculcate the comfortable doctrine, that this is the best possible world—a doctrine borrowed from Leibnitz, recognized by Pope in his *Essay on Man*, and referred to by Voltaire in his *Optimist*—we can, at this distance of time, dis-

tinctly recollect, that although not received with implicit acquiescence, it did not derogate from the profound respect of his audience.

Dr. Samuel Bard, an eminent physician, and who had been professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine under the Royal Charter, undertook to fill, temporarily, the office of professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy. His professional engagements were numerous and arduous, and years had elapsed since he had been conversant in these sciences; he, therefore, commenced under peculiar disadvantages, and solely and exclusively to aid the interests of education. The abstractions of a mind thus deeply engaged, were frequently misunderstood; and it was some time before his amiable character was fully developed, and before he occupied that place to which he was entitled in the love and esteem of his disciples. But as long as literature has a friend, and science an advocate, the name of Samuel Bard will be identified with some of the best and wisest measures to spread the benefits of the healing art, to diffuse the lights of knowledge, and to subserve the essential interests of our country.

Under the guidance of these eminent professors, our Alma Mater lifted up her head and flourished. In course of time, Peter Wilson was installed; as professor of the Greek and Latin languages. His abilities as a teacher, his profound and critical knowledge of classical literature, his revered character, were the accompaniments of great prosperity to the College; and the improvements engrafted into this important department, have furnished perhaps the best school for a knowledge of the learned languages on this side of the Atlantic.

It would perhaps be an unpardonable omission, not to state that Dr. Henry Moyes was also appointed professor of Natural History and Chemistry, although he never officiated in the College. As a lecturer, he was exceedingly popular, and although blind from his birth, his manipulations were wonderfully accurate. He came to this country with the new lights of Chemistry, discovered by Black, Priestley, Cavendish, and Lavoisère.

He adhered, however, to the nomenclature of Chemistry in its imperfect state, as originally adopted by Priestley. But he has the singular merit of sowing the first seeds of this science in this country, redeemed from the follies of alchemy, the visions of elixirs and transmutations, and founded on the experimental science of Bacon, the chief of modern philosophers.

In 1787, an important change took place in the organization of the University. The Regents were divested of the immediate government of the colleges and academies, which was intrusted to distinct Boards of Trustees, and this arrangement enabled the latter Boards to devote their particular attention to the institutions under their care. On the 11th of April, 1786, the first commencement was held, and the first degrees conferred. At that time, the population of this city did not amount to 24,000 persons. In the course of forty years it has increased to 180,000. And the population of the whole State has augmented in the usual ratio of ten to one, which by a singular coincidence, has also occurred in the cities of London and Philadelphia. Our Alma Mater has been increasing in numbers and extending in usefulness; and although three colleges, and perhaps forty academies, have since been

constituted, still, as true and faithful Alumni, we are bound to maintain, that ours, like the Julian star,

Micat inter omnes,
——— velut inter ignes,
luna minores.

Our Alma Mater has, since her origin, been embarrassed by many difficulties, and has had to contend with the most serious opposition. At the first institution, she had to enter the lists with two excellent and pre-established colleges—Yale on the one side, and Nassau Hall on the other. Her endowments were disproportioned to her exigencies. The controversies about our independence entered into her walls, and the horn of civil discord was even sounded in the retreats of science and the temples of education. From the first period of her existence, she was viewed with apprehension by the prying eyes of sectarian jealousy—how improperly, we can all testify; and we also know with what shameful illiberality this spirit was exerted in late years, to defeat the contemplated bounty of the State. And permit me to add, and to add with a most perfect contempt of unworthy prejudices against foreigners, that since our professors have been of native growth, our institution has experienced her present fullness of prosperity. And this must not be understood as proceeding from any defects of character or education, but from ignorance of the American character, which, like our language, is difficult to be comprehended by strangers. This knowledge is essential to persons engaged in education; and men, not without great claims to talent and perspicacity, have resided for years among us, and have remained as ignorant of our national

character, as on the day of their arrival. The sturdy spirit of liberty which distinguishes our youth, and the precocity of manly demeanor which marks them from their first advent into our schools, will not tolerate the stern infliction of exotic discipline. The spirit of education must be bent to the spirit of its objects, or the paths of instruction will be strewn with thorns and briars. The son of an American citizen will not submit to the same rigor of treatment, that is inflicted on the sons of vassals and subjects. Like the American lawyers described by Burke, he augurs misgovernment at a distance, and snuffs in the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze.

All our professors and our most respectable President, are indigenous plants, and their fostering superintendence and powers of instruction are felt in the flourishing state of our Alma Mater. Never did she stand on higher ground, with a more commanding aspect, and on a firmer foundation. Her prospects are brilliant, and her numbers are increasing, and will increase with the augmented population of the State. In the midst of a populous city, she can derive sufficient support from it alone. During the last year she had under her care 127 students. The three other Colleges embraced 310.

Situated at the confluence of all the great navigable communications of the State, from the shores of the Atlantic to the northern and western lakes, she presents every facility of economical and rapid access. Placed in the very focus of all the great moneyed and commercial operations of America, where agriculture pours forth her stores of plenty, where manufactures transmit their fabrics, where internal trade and foreign commerce delight

to dwell and accumulate riches, where, in short, every man that wishes to buy or to sell to advantage, will naturally resort, what site can furnish a stronger invitation to a participation in education? Here, too, you will have the most distinguished divines, the most able jurists, the most skilful physicians. Here will men of science and ingenious artists fix their abode,—and also talented men who will devote themselves to vernacular literature. Whoever wealth can tempt, knowledge allure, or the delights of polished and refined society attract, will occasionally visit or permanently reside in this great emporium. Every inducement that an institution can present, whether for the acquisition of knowledge, the refinement of manners, or the exaltation of character, is here furnished with unsparing liberality.

Unless some extraordinary visitation of calamity, distracts and deranges the natural current of events, and blights the purest prospects of greatness, this city will, ere the lapse of a century, extend itself over the whole island, and cover the shores of the adjacent rivers and bays with an exuberant population of more than a million, and alone will furnish a correspondent number of students; and with immense means of patronage and endowments, we may fondly anticipate, that before the expiration of a century, Columbia College will stand upon an equal footing with the most celebrated Universities of the Old World.

By the last returns, the four Colleges of the State contained 437 students; thirty-three incorporated academies, 2,440; and 8,144 common schools, 431,601. Add to this last the number taught in private institutions, and we may calculate, without the charge of exaggeration, that 460,000 human beings are at this hour, in this State, enjoying the

benefits of education. From the apex to the base of this glorious pyramid of intellectual improvement, we perceive an intimacy of connection, and identity of interest, a community of action and reaction, a system of reciprocated benefits, that cannot but fill us with joy and make us proud of our country.

The National School Society of Great Britain, educates but 330,000 children annually; and there is no state or country that can vie with our common school establishment, and the number of its pupils—I wish I could add, in the merits of its teaching. We want an extension of the system, to higher and other objects of instruction. We want a corps of educated instructors—we want gratuitous instruction in our academies and colleges. The *dii minorum* of learning ought to be elevated in the scale of public estimation and intellectual endowment. For from their hands the rude materials of the mind must receive their first polish of usefulness and improvement; and our dépôts of general instruction, like the speaking-bird of Asiatic fiction, which gathered around it all the singing-birds of the land, ought to contain all the youth of the country that are fit for improvement. Like the Indicator of Ornithology, that leads the way to the collected tenantry of the forest, they must and will conduct us to the higher enjoyments of knowledge; they will act to us as pioneers to delights, which nothing but intellectual pursuits can communicate.

With the learning taught in the ancient universities, this seminary has most felicitously adapted its instruction to the improvements and discoveries of modern times, and has embraced the benefits of both within its comprehensive arms. The exact sciences are sedulously attended to,

as well as classical literature ; Political Economy and Natural Science, are held in merited estimation. And we may feel assured, even if we embark in public life, that sooner or later, we will feel the importance and appreciate the value of our college acquisitions. When the pensioner, John De Witt, who was in his early life an enthusiastic devotee of the Mathematics, was tauntingly asked, of what use they were to him then, as, in the active scenes in which he had been since engaged, he must have lost all his knowledge of them ; his reply contained a volume of wisdom. They have passed, said he, from my memory to my judgment. When Hamilton was called on to preside over the finances of the United States, he stood in the same position, and he felt relieved by availing himself, in his calculations, of the great science of Professor Kemp. Besides, these abstract investigations strengthen the general tone of the mind, teach habits of patient and deliberate inquiry, and communicate the same vigor to the understanding, that severe exercise does to the body.

I am well aware that there is a sect in this country, which extends its influence, more or less, into all the ramifications of society, that explodes all kinds of knowledge not founded on personal experience ; which inculcates that ignorance is the *summum bonum* ; that the less one reads the more he thinks, and that the less he understands, the better he can act ; that education beyond the precincts of common schools is allied to aristocracy, and incompatible with natural equality ; and that the youth who spring from our colleges, and who enter into the liberal professions, would be more serviceable to mankind, if they had been confined to those habits and acquisitions which distinguish the quacks, the empirics, and the charlatans of the com-

munity—with them, Giles Jacob, the pest of grammar and the blunderbuss of law, is superior to Blackstone or Kent; and the works of Buchanan or Thompson, to the lucubrations of the great medical men that adorn our country;—but, above all things, that the true statesman ought to be like the genuine empiric, and rely exclusively upon his own experience and observation for his chart and compass; that he ought to be preferred if his name is “*nulla cognicione rerum, nulla scientia ornatus* ;” and that a liberal education will be a stumbling-block in the way of his progress, by diverting his attention from the weighty concerns of the republic, to the pursuits of scientific investigation. For the honor of the country the advocates of these heresies are diminishing in number, and insignificant in influence; and as our country advances in her career of light, they will be extinguished by the lustre of her radiated and reflected glory. The benefits of education have been gradually rising in human estimation, from those dark days when kings could not write their names, to the present time. There was a period when writing was confined exclusively to the clergy, and when the man who could write his name was exempted from the punishment of death; and the value attached to this acquisition is well illustrated in the Arabian tale, which elevates an unfortunate Prince enchanted into an ape, to the office of a Grand Vizier of an Asiatic Sultan, on account of his chirography.

That knowledge is power—that education is the citadel of liberty—that national glory and prosperity consist in the cultivation of the sciences, in the elevation of the liberal arts, in the extension of the powers of productive industry, are now considered as admitted truths and ac-

knowledge axioms. Those vampyres of the mind who derive their aliment from human ignorance, are viewed in their true colors; and as a refulgent light maintains the same splendor when it illumines a wider space, so does intellectual improvement, the fountain of national greatness, enlarge and extend itself, without being displaced; and contrary to the general laws of nature, the wider it spreads the stronger it grows.

The days of delight which sprung from our academic lives, and which may be considered as intercalations of felicity in our varied being of good and evil, have passed away never to return. But they have left us important duties to perform—duties of indispensable obligation and fertile with momentous results. Let us, then, marshal ourselves, like a Macedonian phalanx, in favor of our schools of instruction, from the highest to the lowest. The smallest effort may produce good; and, like the seed mentioned in Holy Writ, although the least of all seeds, may grow up among the greatest of herbs and become a tree, so that the birds of the air may lodge in its branches.

Internal Improvements.

ON the 5th of January, 1791, Gov. GEORGE CLINTON, in his Annual Message, thus first broaches the subject of INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS by the State :

“Our frontier settlements, freed from apprehensions of danger, are rapidly increasing and must soon yield extensive resources for profitable commerce ; this consideration forcibly recommends the policy of continuing to facilitate the means of communication with them, as well to strengthen the bands of society as to prevent the produce of those fertile districts from being diverted to other markets.”

On the 5th of January, 1792, Gov. Clinton, in his Annual Message for that year, thus refers to this subject :

“The Legislature, at their last meeting, impressed with the importance of improving the means of communication, not only to the agriculture and commerce of the State, but even to the influence of the laws, directed the Commissioners of the Land Office to cause the ground between the Mohawk river and the Wood creek in the county of Herkimer, also between the Hudson river and the Wood creek, in the county of Washington, to be explored and surveyed, and estimates to be formed of the expense of joining those waters by canals. I now submit to you their report which ascertains the practicability of effecting this object at a very moderate expense, and I trust that a mea-

sure so interesting to the community, will continue to command the attention due to its importance, and especially, as the resources of the State will prove adequate to these and other useful improvements without the aid of taxes."

On the 7th of January, 1794, Gov. Clinton again recurs to this subject :

"The northern and western companies of inland lock navigation, having, agreeably to law, produced authentic accounts of their expenditures, I have given the necessary certificate to entitle them to receive from the Treasury the sum of ten thousand pounds, as a free gift on the part of this State towards the prosecution of those interesting objects. Although the care of improving and opening these navigations be committed to private companies, they will require, and no doubt from time to time receive, from the Legislature, every fostering aid and patronage commensurate to the great public advantages which must result from the improvement of the means of intercourse."

Thus was foreshadowed by that sturdy old patriot, the first Governor of our State, and the man who, perhaps, more than any other, exerted the greatest influence upon her then future destiny, that system of improvements successfully carried out under the administration of his illustrious nephew.

It will be remembered that in 1789, that nephew, De Witt Clinton, was appointed the private Secretary of the Governor, and continued to hold that close and confidential relation down to 1795, and during the period of the three annual meetings of the Legislature to whom the Messages were addressed, from which the foregoing extracts are taken. That the thoughts of him who, in the language of an eloquent divine of our State, "was able

not only to fix some impress of his mind on most of the institutions under which we live, but also to grave the memorial of his being on the bosom of the earth on which we tread, and in lines, too, so bold and so indelible that they may, and probably will, continue legible to successive generations," that his thoughts were early, and even then turned attentively upon this subject, there can be but little doubt.

Who can tell what visions of the future crowded upon the brilliant imagination of the youthful statesman, as his pen copied out the Messages referred to? In one of his addresses during this period in 1794, De Witt Clinton thus speaks :

"Great improvements must also take place which far surpass the momentum of power that a single nation can produce, but will with facility proceed from their united strength. The hand of art will change the face of the universe. Mountains, deserts, and oceans will feel its mighty force. It will not then be debated whether hills shall be prostrated, but whether the Alps and the Andes shall be levelled ; nor whether sterile fields shall be fertilized, but whether the deserts of Africa shall feel the power of cultivation ; nor whether rivers shall be joined, but whether the Caspian shall see the Mediterranean, and the waves of the Pacific lave the Atlantic."

The act authorizing the construction of the canals by the State was passed in 1817, and the work commenced on the 4th of July in that year. De Witt Clinton was first elected Governor in 1817, and on the 28th of January, 1818, delivered his first Message, of which the following is an extract :

"I congratulate you upon the auspicious commence-

ment and successful progress of the contemplated water communication between the great western and northern lakes, and the Atlantic ocean. Near sixty miles of the Western Canal have been contracted for, to be finished within the present year; and it is probable that the whole of the Northern Canal will be disposed of in the same manner before the ensuing spring.

“Notwithstanding the unfavorable season, the inexperience of the contractors, and the late commencement of operations, it is understood that the work to the extent of fifteen miles has already been done on the Western Canal. And it is confidently believed that the aggregate expense will be within the estimates of the commissioners. The enhancement of the profits of agriculture, the excitement of manufacturing industry, the activity of internal trade, the benefits of lucrative traffic; the interchange of valuable commodities—the commerce of fertile, remote, and wide-spread regions, and the approximation of the most distant parts of the Union, by the facility and rapidity of communication that will result from the completion of these stupendous works, will spread the blessings of plenty and opulence to an immeasurable extent. The resources of the State are fully adequate without extraneous aid; and when we consider that every portion of the nation will feel the animating spirit and vivifying influences of these great works; that they will receive the benediction of posterity and command the approbation of the civilized world; we are required to persevere by every dictate of interest, by every sentiment of honor, by every injunction of patriotism, and by every consideration which ought to influence the councils and govern the conduct of a free, high-minded, enlightened, and magnanimous people.”

In his Message of 1826, he thus speaks of their completion :

“In 1818 I had the pleasure to congratulate the Legislature on the auspicious commencement and successful progress of the contemplated water communication between the great western and northern lakes and the Atlantic ocean, and I now have the peculiar gratification to felicitate you on their completion. On the 26th of October last, the Western Canal was in a navigable state, and vessels passed from Lake Erie to the Atlantic ocean. In about eight years, artificial communications, near 428 miles in length, have been opened to the Hudson River from Lake Champlain by the Northern Canal ; to Lake Ontario by the Oswego River and the Western Canal ; and to Lake Erie and the other western lakes by the latter Canal—thus affording an extent of inland navigation unparalleled in the experience of mankind. The expense of these works and of some auxiliary, connected, and incidental operations, amounts to \$9,130,373 80, exclusive of interest paid on loans.”

Thus the vision of 1794 was substantially realized. The Caspian had not seen the Mediterranean, nor had the waters of the Pacific flowed into the Atlantic ; but he had lived to see results equally important. The energies and resources of a single State, chiefly directed by his own far-seeing policy, had united the waters of our inland seas with those of the Atlantic. The writer remembers well the celebration of that event, for it was then that he first saw DE WITT CLINTON. He had just entered Union College at Schenectady, and in the fall of 1825, stood with his College companions upon the banks of the canal in that City, when Governor Clinton landed from the boat in which

he had passed in triumph from Lake Erie. Allusion is made to this circumstance because it was at Schenectady, as the reader of the following journal will perceive, that Mr. Clinton and his associate Commissioners in July, 1810, *set sail upon the dangerous Mohawk.*

The most casual observer cannot fail to notice the mighty changes which the forty succeeding years have produced. The western wilderness has literally budded and blossomed, and brought forth much fruit. The State of New York has taken her proud position at the head of the Confederacy, and counts her population by millions. Her gigantic Internal Improvements have realized the most sanguine anticipations of their early projectors, and while they have proved sources of great wealth to us, have also furnished models for our sister States—and have diffused their influence over vast regions, where in 1810 the wild beast made its lair, and the wandering savage found his home and his grave.

The traveler, as he now passes up the valley of the Mohawk with almost the lightning's speed, can hardly realize the slow and tedious journeyings of our fathers.

The following pages contain the interesting private Journal of Mr. Clinton in 1810.

His Private Canal Journal—1810.

IN consequence of representations from the Western Inland and Lock Navigation Company, and from a great number of citizens of Albany, Schenectady, Utica, and other places interested in the internal trade of the State, Commissioners were appointed by the Legislature to explore the country between the Lakes and the navigable waters of the Hudson, and to report upon the most eligible route for a water communication. It was suggested by those representations, as a point deserving of particular attention, that the commerce of the country was diverted in a great degree to Canada. The very able report of Mr. Secretary Gallatin, and the excellent speech of Col. Porter, on the facilitation of the means of communication by canals and roads, had awakened the public attention and excited the public solicitude to that all-important object. The resolution of the Legislature appointing Commissioners passed without opposition, the violence of party feelings having yielded to great considerations of national policy; and, as it fully explains the objects of the appointment, I shall give it at length:

“STATE OF NEW YORK:

“*In Senate, March 13, 1810.*

“Whereas, the agricultural and commercial interests of this State require, that the inland navigation from Hud-

son's river to Lake Ontario and Lake Erie be improved and completed on a scale commensurate to the great advantages derived from the accomplishment of that important object; and whereas, it is doubtful whether the resources of the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company are equal to such improvements, Therefore

"Resolved, (if the Honorable the Assembly concur herein), That Gouverneur Morris, Stephen Van Rensselaer, De Witt Clinton, Simeon De Witt, William North, Thomas Eddy, and Peter B. Porter, be and they are hereby appointed Commissioners for exploring the whole route, examining the present condition of the said navigation, and considering what further improvements ought to be made therein; that they be authorized to direct and procure such surveys as to them shall appear necessary and proper, in relation to the object, and that they report thereon to the Legislature at their next session, presenting a full view of the subjects referred to them, with their estimates and opinions thereon.

"And Whereas, numerous inhabitants of the counties of Oneida, Madison, and Onondaga, have by their petitions represented, that by reason of the spring freshets the Onondaga Lake is usually raised so high, as to inundate large tracts of land adjacent thereto, which are thereby rendered unfit for cultivation, and highly injurious to the health of the neighboring inhabitants, and that the said evils may be remedied by removing a bar and deepening the channel of the outlet of the said Lake, Therefore

"Resolved, (if the Honorable the Assembly concur herein), That the Commissioners above-named be and they are hereby directed to examine the subject of the said petitions, and to report to the Legislature their opinion as to

the practicability, the expense, and the effects of removing the bar and deepening the channel at the outlet of the said Lake.

“By order,

“S. VISSCHER, *Clerk*.”

“*In Assembly, March 15, 1810.*

“*Resolved*, That this House do concur with the Honorable the Senate, in the preceding resolutions.

“J. V. INGEN, *Clerk*.”

By the Supply Bill, \$3,000 were appropriated to defraying the expenses of the Board of Commissioners.

Messrs. Morris, Porter, Eddy, and myself, met in New York, and agreed to meet the other Commissioners at Albany, on the second of July, in order to proceed to the execution of the duties assigned to us. Mr. Eddy was appointed Secretary and Treasurer of the Board, and directed to inform the absent Commissioners of this arrangement. We were anxious to avail ourselves of the professional knowledge of Mr. Latrobe; but this was strenuously opposed by Mr. Morris, and the Surveyor-General was authorized to employ such surveyor as he might think necessary.

On the 30th of June, 1810, I left New York for Albany in the steamboat, in company with Mr. Eddy, his son, and Mr. Osgood's son and nephew. A servant by the name of Thomas Smyth, whom I had engaged to attend me, and to whom I paid a month's wages in advance, disappointed me, and in waiting for him I had nearly lost my passage. The weather was warm, and the boat crowded.

We arrived at Albany before daylight on Monday morning, and put up at Gregory's tavern.

A meeting of the Commissioners was held according to appointment, at the Surveyor-General's office, and all were present except Col. Porter, who did not arrive until evening. It appeared that Mr. De Witt had engaged Mr. Geddes to attend us as surveyor from Utica. Morris and Van Rensselaer agreed to make the jaunt by land; the other Commissioners determined to proceed by water. Mr. Morris was to be accompanied by his wife, and Mr. Sharpless, a painter; and Mr. Van Rensselaer by his brother-in-law, Mr. Patterson. General North was to take boat with us at Utica.

We employed ourselves in laying up the necessary stores for our voyage, having previously drawn from the Treasury \$1500, in favor of Mr. Eddy. A mattress, blanket, and pillow, were purchased for each Commissioner; but we unfortunately neglected to provide ourselves with marquees and camp-stools, the want of which we sensibly experienced.

On the 3d July, we set out in carriages for Schenectady, and put up at Powell's Hotel. We found that Mr. Eddy had neglected to give directions about providing boats, and that Mr. Walton, the undertaker, who is extensively engaged in transporting commodities and merchandize up and down the river, had notice of our wishes only yesterday. He was very busy in making the requisite preparations. He had purchased a batteaux, and had hired another for our baggage. It being necessary to caulk and new paint the boats—to erect an awning for our protection against the rain and sun, and to prepare a new set of sails, we had no very sanguine hope of gratifying our earnest

desire to depart in the morning, although we exerted every nerve to effect it.

July 4th. On consulting with Mr. Walton about our departure, he informed us that this being a day of great festivity, it would be almost impracticable to drag the men away. We saw some of them, and found them willing to embark as soon as the boats were ready, and we therefore pressed the workmen with great assiduity.

The true reason for this anxiety, was the dullness of the place. Imagine yourself in a large country village, without any particular acquaintance, and destitute of books, and you will appreciate our situation. Schenectady, although dignified with the name of a city, is a place of little business. It has a Bank, a College, and Court-house, and a considerable deal of trade is carried on through the Mohawk; and all the roads which pass to the westward on the banks of that river necessarily go through this place. A great portion of the crowd that visit the Mineral Springs at Ballston and Saratoga also visit Schenectady. With all these advantages it does not appear pleasing, and we endeavored to fill up the gloomy interval between this time and our departure, by viewing the pageantry which generally attends this day.

There were two celebrations, and two sets of orators—one by the city and one by the College. The feuds between the burghers of Oxford and Cambridge, and the students of those Universities, appear to be acted over here. In the procession of the students, we saw a *Washington Benevolent Society*, remarkable neither for numbers nor respectability. The President was a Scotchman, of the name of Murdoch, and certainly not a warm Whig during the war.

This place is known in history as the scene of a terrible massacre. On the 9th of February, 1690, it was destroyed by a party of French and Indians from Canada, and its inhabitants murdered. It then contained a church and forty-three houses. Those that escaped would have perished in a violent snow-storm, had they not providentially met sleighs from Albany, which of course returned immediately with them. This account has reached us by tradition, and was given to us by Henry Glen, Esq., an old inhabitant.

On receiving information that our batteaux were ready, we embarked at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Our boat was covered with a handsome awning and curtains, and well provided with seats. The Commissioners who embarked in it, were De Witt, Eddy, Porter, and myself; and the three young gentlemen before-mentioned also accompanied us. The Captain's name was Thomas B. Clench, and we were provided with three men, Freeman, Van Ingen, and Van Slyck. In our consort, were the Captain, named Clark, three hands, three servants, and about a ton and a-half of baggage and provisions. We called, ludicrously at first, our vessel the *Eddy*, and the baggage-boat the *Morris*. What was jest became serious and when our batteaux were painted at Utica, these names were doubly inscribed on the sterns in legible characters.

A crowd of people attended us at our embarkation, who gave us three parting cheers. The wind was fair, and with our handsome awning, flag flying, and large sail, followed by another boat, we made no disreputable appearance. We discovered that our mast was too high, and our boat being without much ballast, we were not well calculated to encounter heavy and sudden gusts. These

boats are not sufficiently safe for lake navigation, although they frequently venture. A boat went from this place to the Missouri in six weeks. The river was uncommonly low. Goods to the value of \$50,000 were detained in Walton's warehouses, on account of the difficulty of transportation. After sailing a couple of miles, a bend of the river brought the wind in our faces. Our men took to their poles, and pushed us up against a rapid current with great dexterity, and great muscular exertion. The approach of evening, and the necessity of sending back to Schenectady for some things that were left, induced us to come to, for the night, at Willard's tavern, on the south bank of the river, and three miles from the place of departure.

This tavern is in the 3d ward of the city of Schenectady. In the election of 1809, the first after the establishment of the county, a great disproportion was discovered between the Senatorial and Assembly votes, which could not be accounted for on fair principles. A greater number of persons testified that they had voted for the Republican candidates, than there were ballots in the box ; and there could not be the least doubt, but that Republican tickets had been taken from the box, and Federal ones substituted. This tavern was located as the scene of the fraud. The boxes were kept here one night, and, it is said, locked up in a bureau, left there for the express purpose, as it is supposed. The tavern-keeper and some other accomplices, perpetrated the atrocious deed. The present incumbent looks as if he were capable of any iniquity of the kind.

The south road leads in front of the house. While here, we had an opportunity of seeing the pernicious ef-

fects of these festivals, in the crowds of drunken, quarrelsome people, who passed by. Among other disgusting scenes, we saw several young men riding Jehu-like to the tavern, in a high state of intoxication, and their leader swinging his hat, and shouting, "Success to Federalism." A simple fellow handed me a handbill containing the arrangements for the procession, and was progressing in his familiarities with the rest of the company, when he was called off by the landlord, who, in a stern voice, said "Come away, Dickup;" and poor Dickup, alias *thick-head*, immediately obeyed.

July 5th. We rose with the sun, expecting to start ~~at~~ that time, but we were detained by our Captain, who had gone to Schenectady, until nine o'clock. The high wind then subsided, and it had rained considerably in the night. In the rear of the house, we ascended a high and perpendicular hill, from whence we had a delightful view of Schenectady, and the flat lands forming the valley of the Mohawk.

The advertisements in the tavern indicated attention to manufactures. Two machines, for preparing and carding wool and cotton, were announced as ready for operation.

In the course of the day we passed three boats and a raft. The general run in going to Utica, and returning to Schenectady, is nine days. One of the boats was from Utica, and could carry ten tons.

We had with us Wright's Map of the Mohawk, made from an actual survey at the expense of the Canal Company. This map exhibited the distances, the names of places, the rapids, rifts, and currents, with great accuracy, and was singularly useful.

Between fifteen and sixteen miles from Schenectady,

we passed the first settlement made by Sir William Johnson, in this country. It is handsomely situated on the right bank of the river, and must have been selected by him on account of its vicinity to the Mohawk Castle. There is here, a handsome two-story brick house, which was recently owned by one Stanton. He had but two daughters, who were courted by a carpenter and mason. He withheld his consent until they had erected this house. Like Jacob, they undertook the service; and the death of the old man has placed them in the building made by their hands.

In dried mullen stalks we discovered young bees in a chrysalis state, deposited there by the old ones, and used as a nest. We also saw, on the banks of the river, the shell of the common fresh water muscle.

About sixteen miles from Schenectady, we saw, on the left bank of the river, a curious specimen of Indian painting. On an elevated rock was painted a canoe, with seven warriors in it, to signify that they were proceeding on a war expedition. This was executed with red ochre, and has been there for upwards of half a century.

We dined on board the boat, and, after a hard day's work, arrived at Cook's tavern, on the north side of the river, about 8 o'clock, P.M. The wind was violently adverse, the rapids frequent and impetuous. The Morris staid about a mile behind, which was no favorable indication.

Sir William Johnson had a son and two daughters by a German woman, with whom he cohabited. The son, Sir John, succeeded him in his title, and now resides in Canada. One of his daughters married Guy Johnson, the other Col. Claus, whose estates were confiscated. Sir William gave

each of his sons-in-law a mile square on the river, and built for them spacious and, in that time, magnificent stone houses, with suitable out-buildings. Cook's tavern was called Guy Park, and belonged to Guy Johnson. The place was sold by the Commissioners of Forfeitures, and is now owned by John V. Henry, Esq., of Albany, who rents it for \$500 a-year. The house is well kept.

July 6th. Started at 5 o'clock. About nineteen miles from Schenectady, passed the former seat of Sir William Johnson, on the north bank of the river. It is now used as a tavern. After he erected Johnson Hall, at Johnstown, and resided there, this house was occupied by his son. It is a large, double, two-story stone building, with two stone offices, and other elegant appurtenances. In those days it must have been considered a superb edifice.

After breakfasting at a log house, occupied by Mrs. Loucks, we proceeded on our voyage, and passed the mouth of Schoharie creek, which discharges itself on the left bank, about twenty-two and a half miles from Schenectady. A fort was erected here by Gov. Hunter, the friend and correspondent of Swift, and called Fort Hunter, after him. On the west side of the creek, there is a beautiful flat country, on which was situated the castle, or chief village, of the once powerful tribe of the Mohawks. There is a convenient bridge over the creek at this place.

We landed here at a fine spring, for a few moments ; and in imagination I was carried back to the time, when this country was occupied by roving barbarians and savage beasts, when every trace of civilization and refinement was excluded. The chief employment and supreme delight of the savage was to slake his thirst at the spring, to gorge himself with flesh, and to plant the arrow in the

bosom of his enemy. In course of time, he felt the power of the man of Europe. He struggled against his arts and his arms, and after the lapse of two centuries, he is banished from the country which contains the bones of his forefathers; and the powerful nation of the Mohawks, which formerly struck terror as far as the Mississippi, is now dwindled down into absolute insignificance.

On our way up we passed Caughnawaga Village, which is about twenty-nine miles from Schenectady, and contains a church. It is pleasantly situated on the north side of the river. On the south side, opposite to one Dockstadder's, a wooden pitchfork was thrown at our batteaux, from an elevated bank. It just passed over the boat, and if it had struck it, might have killed a man. As it passed close to one of the hands, they felt a proper indignation, and immediately stopped the batteaux. The ruffians, who were making hay on the lowlands, scampered off, and left their rakes and forks to the mercy of the enraged boatmen, who took their revenge in breaking them.

We lodged this night at Dewandalaer's tavern, thirty-four miles from Schenectady, in Palatine, on the north side of the river. This is a good although a small log house. We had four beds in one room, and although the cotton sheets, which are generally used in the country, were not so agreeable as linen, yet we passed a comfortable night. The landlord owns a farm of 600 acres, 180 of which are on the Mohawk flats. About twenty years ago it cost him \$7.50 an acre. He had but twenty sheep. We saw peas, hemp, and flax, growing in one field on the lowlands. The flats must produce excellent hemp, but this profitable commodity is almost entirely neglected. The hard winter has proved nearly fatal to the wheat crop.

Land on the bottoms can rarely be purchased ; it is worth \$100 per acre. This place formerly belonged to Major Fonda. His house was burnt by a party Indians and Tories, during the last war, who came from Canada, and swept the country as low down as Tripe's Hill. Near this place they were defeated by the militia. A short distance below De Wandalaer's, you pass a remarkable rock called the Nose. The mountains here are high, and are like the Highlands of the Hudson on a small scale. The river must have burst a passage for itself. The opening of the mountains exhibits sublime scenery.

I saw at this house a pamphlet written by Cheetham, entitled, "The New Crisis, by an old Whig." This family are, it seems, connected with the Van Vechtens, of Albany, and the pamphlet was probably transmitted to be used as a powerful political engine.

7th July. We commenced our journey at 5 o'clock ; and in order to facilitate the passage of our batteaux over Kater's Rapid, which extends a mile from this place, and which is among the worst in the river, we walked to the head of it. And here Mr. Eddy, who was complimented with the title of Commodore and the conduct of expedition, disburthened his pocket of a towel, which he had negligently put into it at the tavern where we slept, with particular injunctions to deliver it safely. This trifling incident excited some merriment ; and we were happy to catch even at trifling incidents in order to beguile the time, which the slowness of our progress, the sameness of the scenery, and the warmth of the weather, began to make tedious.

In order to furnish as much amusement as possible, we put our books into a common stock, or rather into a trunk, and

appointed one of the young gentlemen keeper of the library. The books, which were most extraordinary, were a treatise on Magic, by Quitman (this I purchased at Albany), and a pamphlet on Religion, by Mr. D. L. Dodge, a respectable merchant in New York, with an answer by a Clergyman, (these were furnished by Mr. Eddy). Quitman's Treatise is a labored argument against Magicians, and to disprove their existence. Dodge's work is principally levelled against war, breathes a fanatical spirit, and is completely refuted by the adversary's pamphlet. As a specimen of his reasoning, take the following :—

“If a good man does not resist an assailant and submits to be killed, he will go to heaven. On the contrary, if he kills the assailant, he may probably send a soul to hell, which if spared, may be converted and saved to life everlasting.”

Dodge's pamphlet, weak as it is, has given him a great name among the Quakers; and, through their recommendation, he is now a trustee of the New York Free School.

We were not, however, without other amusements. A one-horse wagon, driven tandem, came up to Shephard's tavern in great style, and formed an admirable burlesque of the fops of our cities who sport in that style. -

Shephard's house is thirty-nine miles from Schenectady, on the north side of the river, and close to Canajoharie bridge, which passes over the Mohawk. It is a large handsome house, dirty and unaccommodating, although much frequented. Here is a small village of two or three stores, two taverns, asheries for making pot and pearl ashes, and about eight houses. We relished our breakfast but very indifferently. The swarms of flies which assailed the food, were very disgusting; and custards which were

brought on the table, *mal apropos* exhibited the marks of that insect as a substitute for the grating of nutmeg.

At the distance of forty-two and a-half miles from Schenectady, passed Fort Plain on the south side and in Minden. It derives its name from a block-house which was formerly erected here. There is a church near it, and it is marked erroneously in Wright's map, Canajoharie. An occurrence took place, near here, during the war, which excited much sensation among the superstitious. A Tory, from Canada, was apprehended and executed as a spy, in the army commanded by Gen. James Clinton. His friends were gratified with his body for interment; and when the company were assembling in a cellar-kitchen, a large black snake darted through the window, and ran under the coffin, and could not be found. This affair made a great noise, and the superstitious Germans interpreted it as an omen favorable to the Whig cause, considering the black snake as a devil, anxious to receive his victim, and anticipating a delightful sacrifice. A mile above Fort Plain, we passed under the third bridge, the Schenectady one included, and a mile above this bridge we passed the Lower Palatine church, on the north side of the river. The Higher Palatine church is a few miles higher up.

At half after one, and forty-five miles from Schenectady, we passed a boat which left Utica yesterday, at 12 o'clock; and five miles further, we overtook and passed a Durham boat, with a load of eight or ten tons, which left Schenectady on Tuesday for Utica. The *Eddy* can carry but three tons. We purchased a basket of eggs, at one shilling per dozen, and some fine butter, at fifteen cents per pound, also nine fishes taken by a spear, weighing from one

pound to one and a-half each, and eighteen inches long, for four shillings altogether. We shot a fine bittern, and one of our men speared a large snapping-turtle. The wind became fair for a while; the air was cool, the country pleasant, and our epicures were anticipating a fine dinner on shore, when, to evince the fallacy of human wishes, lo! a black vapor, not larger than a man's hand, appeared in the West, and in a short time magnified itself into a dark, portentous cloud, surcharged with electrical matter, and covering the western horizon. We were compelled to encounter the rain-storm by coming to, under the bank, with our curtains down, and in this situation we took our cold dinner and sipped our hot wine. After the rain, which continued until three o'clock, the thermometer stood at 81°. The thighs and fleshy parts of the turtle we caught, were filled with leeches. We pursued our voyage through a damp, disagreeable afternoon, and about evening arrived at Pardee's Tavern in Manheim, on the west side of East Canada Creek. The town on the south side of the river is called Oppenheim. Pardee's is fifty-one miles from Schenectady. He keeps a store and excellent tavern, also the Post-office. There is a bridge over the Canada Creek near his house, and the Mohawk and Schenectady turnpike run close by it. Here we met Jaspar Hopper and his family going to the Ballston Springs. The house was crowded in the evening, by militia on their way from a regimental inspection. They conducted themselves with great decorum. Mr. Pardee says that the expense of land and water transportation is about equal, but the former is to be preferred on account of its superior safety and convenience.

July 8th, Tuesday. We continued our voyage at six

o'clock, and arrived at the Little Falls at ten. It had rained the whole night, and the morning was introduced by the vocal music of the woods. Thousands of birds of different kinds had assembled in a grove near to Pardee's, which they made to ring with their songs. The black-bird and the robin appeared to be the principal performers in this great concert of nature.

On our way, we were spoken to by James Cochran and brother in a phæton, and Francis A. Bloodgood and family in a coach, who informed us, that our colleagues were waiting for us at Utica. We passed a loaded Durham boat in its descent from Utica, and fifty-six miles from Schenectady we passed the house of the gallant General Herkimer, who was mortally wounded at the battle of Oriskany, and who died here. His house is on the south side, and was protected by pickets during the war. This brave man is honored in the memory and affections of his country. A county, a town, and a village, are called after him. He was of German descent, and the ground where he received the fatal wound, was covered with the dead and dying of his gallant countrymen. From his house to the Little Falls, the water is deep and still.

LITTLE FALLS.

This village is built upon rocks of granite—contains about thirty or forty houses and stores, and a church, together with mills.

As you approach the falls, the river becomes narrow and deep, and you pass through immense rocks, principally of granite, interspersed with limestone. In various places you observe profound excavations in the rocks,

worn by the agitation of pebbles in the fissures, and in some places, the river is not more than twenty yards wide. As you approach the western extremity of the hills, you will find them about half-a-mile from top to top, and at least, three hundred feet high. The rocks are composed of solid granite, and many of them are thirty or forty feet thick, and the whole mountain extends, at least, half-a-mile from east to west. You see them piled on each other, like Ossa on Pelion ; and in other places, huge fragments scattered about in different directions, indicating evidently a violent rupture of the waters through this place, as if they had been formerly dammed up, and had forced a passage through all intervening obstacles. In all directions you behold great rocks exhibiting rotundities, points, and cavities, as if worn by the violence of the waves or pushed from their former positions.

The general appearance of the Little Falls indicates the existence of a great lake above, connected with the Oneida Lake, and as the waters burst a passage here and receded, the flats above formed and composed several thousand acres of the richest lands. Rome being the highest point on the Lake, the passage of the waters on the east side left it bare, and the Oneida Lake gradually receded on the west side, and formed the great marsh or swamp now composing the head waters of Wood Creek. The whole appearance of the country, from the commencement of Wood Creek to its termination in the Oneida Lake, demonstrates the truth of this hypothesis. The westerly and northwesterly winds drive the sand towards Wood Creek, and you can distinctly perceive the continual alluvions increasing eastward by the accumulation of sand, and the formation of new ground. Near the

Lake you observe sand without trees—then, to the east, a few scattering trees, and as you progress in that direction, the woods thicken. In digging the canals in Wood Creek, pine-trees have been found twelve feet deep. The whole country, from the commencement to the termination of Wood Creek, bears the indications of made ground. An old boatman, several years ago, told Mr. De Witt, that he had been fifty years in that employ, and that the Oneida Lake had receded half-a-mile within his recollection. William Culbraith, one of the first settlers at Rome, was arrested, in digging a well, by a large tree which he found at the depth of twelve feet. This great Lake—breaking down in the first place to the east, the place where its waters pressed the most, and then to the west, where its recession was gradual—forms an object worthy of more inquiry than I had time or talent to afford. The Little Falls are the Highlands in miniature; and the Mohawk here, ought to be considered as the Hudson, forcing its way through the mightiest obstacles of nature. It being rainy the whole day and night, after breakfasting, we continued here until the next morning at four o'clock, when we continued our voyage.

The Mohawk and Schenectady turnpike passes through this place. It is in the town of Herkimer, and at the commencement of the locks, a line of division between the counties of Montgomery and Herkimer runs. The town of German Flatts is on the opposite side of the river, which is connected with this place by an excellent bridge.

The proprietors of this place were originally Fin and Ellis, Englishmen, who made their fortunes in this State and returned to their native country. The land now belongs to their heirs. They sent a clerk named John Porteus, a

Scotchman, who resided here and took care of their concerns. He kept a store and mills. He had a daughter who is married to Wm. Alexander, the principal trader of this village. The lots are leased for ever at three dollars per annum, and are 60 by 120 feet. Alexander being the agent of the canal company, we had frequent interviews with him, and were not a little entertained with the bathos he attempted in his conversation.

The tavern here is kept by one Carr, and is a good one. We saw here the *New York Spectator*, and a federal paper called the *American*, printed in the village of Herkimer, by J. and H. Prentiss. I had the pleasure of seeing my friend J. C. Ludlow, Esq., on a tour to Quebec, accompanied by Joshua Pell and Augustus Sacket. They left New York on Tuesday last in the steamboat, and came from Albany in the mail stage. The Inland Lock Navigation Company was incorporated in 1792, and has a capital of \$450,000, of which the State owns \$92,000. They have five locks at the Little Falls, two at the German Flatts, and two at Rome, besides their works in Wood Creek.

All their improvements might now be done at less than half the original expense. General Schuyler, the original superintendent, was inexperienced. The locks at the Little Falls were originally built of wood, which rotting, stone was substituted; and those at Rome were made of brick, which not standing the frost, were replaced also by stone. There is a fine stone quarry a mile and a half from the Little Falls, of which the locks were made; and they were first built of wood from ignorance that the country contained the stone. This quarry is no less curious than valuable. The stones divide naturally as if done by tools. The wooden locks here put the Company to an unnecessary

expense of 50,000 dollars—10,000 dollars a lock. An old church at the German Flatts was built of stone taken from that quarry, and yet this escaped the notice of the Company. The artificial bank of the canal was supported in the inside by a dry wall which cost 15,000 dollars. This is found worse than useless. It served as a sieve to carry off the water and to injure the banks, and it has become necessary to remove it. The bridges of the canal are so low that we were obliged to take down our awning.

In one year the income of the company was 16,000 dollars. This, after all expenses, would have afforded a dividend of 5 per cent. There never has been but one dividend of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Alexander supposes that a million dollars worth of produce may pass down the canal annually, and as much up in goods. The toll is received at the Little Falls by Wm. Alexander, and at Rome by George Huntington.

The following amount of tolls received at the Little Falls was furnished us by Mr. Alexander:—

1803,	. . . . .	\$10,916 59
1804,	. . . . .	9,749 36
1805,	. . . . .	10,178 05
1806,	. . . . .	7,235 30
1807,	. . . . .	10,972 61
1808,	. . . . .	4,700 08
1809,	. . . . .	4,723 41
1810, as yet,	. . . . .	4,313 83

The rates of toll have been reduced since 1808, in order to meet the charges for transportation by land.

In April and May last there passed the falls, 151 boats.

In June, 91 “

Two boats passed through the locks in our presence—one a Durham boat from Ithaca with potash, part of which came from Owego. This boat draws when full loaded, 28 inches of water, and can carry 100 barrels of potash, or 240 of flour. It paid in lockage at Rome \$16 50.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The mountain which forms the south-western extremity of the Falls is very elevated and called Fall Hill. A turn-pike runs at its foot adjacent to the river. This mountain is the barometer of the Little Falls; if covered with fog in the morning, it invariably denotes a rainy day.

In entering from the east into the narrow part of the river at the Little Falls, we saw on the north side large holes dug, which we were told were made by money-seekers from Stone Arabia.

We saw excellent window-glass made in a factory in Oneida, and japanned and plain tin-ware is made for wholesale and retail in this place. The rainy weather induced me to procure thicker stockings; for a pair of coarse worsted I paid 11s., and for two pair of cotton half stockings, 6s. 6d. each.

9th July.—As before-mentioned we departed from the Little Falls at four o'clock, with an intention of reaching Utica, in which we succeeded, after a laborious day's work, at ten o'clock at night.

We met two empty boats going down to Schenectady, which had been to Utica with goods; as the wind was favorable, they probably reached their place of destination this day. We breakfasted at the toll-keeper's at the German Flatts, 64 miles from Schenectady.

The canal here is through the Flatts, a delightful body of low lands, which look like the flats of Esopus, and were first settled by the Palatines. The canal is $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile long, 24 feet wide, and 4 feet deep. The land through which it is cut cost the company 120 dollars an acre. It is furnished with a guard lock to prevent too great a flux of water. The embankments afford a delightful walk and the expense of cutting the canal could not exceed that of a good turnpike. A lock here cannot, with economy, be more than 6,000 dollars. The lock was filled in five minutes for our boat to pass. The canal here ought to have been extended further to the east, in order to have avoided another difficult rapid, and this could have been done at a trifling expense.

The village of German Flatts is a small place on the south side of the river and near the toll-house. The first Indian treaty, after the peace, was made at it. It contains a stone house which was picketted during the war and was called Fort Herkimer. The stone church was also used as a fort during that period, and the loop-holes for seeing through are still visible.

A bridge crosses the river 65 miles from Schenectady, and leads to the village of Herkimer, a flourishing place. The river is narrow at this place, and the West Canada Creek from the north falls into it, on the east side of the bridge.

We dined on the south side of the river about $71\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Schenectady, in the open air, at a saw and carding-mill owned by a Mr. Meyer; 74 miles from Schenectady we passed under a new bridge, and a mile further we saw the commencement of Cosby's manor. This may be con-

sidered the commencement of a new country ; the hills retreat from the river, the land grows better, the river narrows, and beach and sugar maple supply the place of willow bushes which cover the banks below. About 79 miles on the south side, there was a tree 60 feet high with an umbrella top, and two-thirds of the elevation without branches. It is said to be an *unique* in this country, and to be visited by strangers who do not know what it is. Mr. De Witt and Col. Porter went out of the boat to examine it ; the distance of its branches prevented them from determining its kind, but they supposed it to be the Cucumber-tree, which is rarely seen on the east side of the Genesee river.

Wild or Indian Hemp was in great plenty on the branches of the river, also a beautiful wild flower, whose botanical name is *Oscis*, and of which there are six different kinds in the western country.

There is also abundance of Mandrake or Wild-lemon, a delicious fruit as large as a Love-apple. Its leaves are large, and it is about a foot or eighteen inches high. It is a plant, not a shrub.

Morris and Van Rensselaer having pre-occupied Baggs' tavern, where we intended to quarter, we put up at Billinger's tavern in Utica.

UTICA.

July 10th.—The Board met, all present, and adjourned to meet at Rome on the 12th instant.

Utica is a flourishing village on the south side of the Mohawk ; it arrogates to itself being the capital of the Western District. Twenty-two years ago there was but one house ; there are now three hundred, a Presbyterian

Church, an Episcopal, a Welch Presbyterian, and a Welch Baptist ; a Bank, being a branch of the Manhattan Company, a Post Office, the office of the Clerk of the County, and the Clerk of the Supreme Court. By the census now taking, it contains 1,650 inhabitants. Two newspapers are printed here.

The situation of the place is on low ground, a great part of which is natural meadow. It derives its importance from its situation on the Mohawk, the Seneca turnpike which communicates with the heart of the Western country, and the Mohawk and Schenectady turnpike, which leads to Schenectady on the north side of the Mohawk, independently of a good free road on the south side.

Produce is carried by land from Utica to Albany for 8s. per 100 lbs. ; by water to Schenectady, for 6s. When the Canal Company reduced the toll, the wagoners reduced their price, in order to support the competition. Country people owe merchants, and pay their debts by conveyances of this kind, and in times when their teams are not much wanted for other purposes.

Utica bears every external indication of prosperity. Some of the houses are uncommonly elegant ; the stores are numerous and well replenished with merchandize. The price of building lots is extravagantly high. Lots, correspondent to double lots in New York, sell here from four to eight hundred dollars. The Bleecker family own 1200 acres in the village and its vicinity, and by at first refusing to sell, and by leasing out at extravagant rates, they greatly injured the growth of the place. They seem now to have embraced a more liberal policy. They have made a turnpike of two miles, and a bridge over the Mohawk, to carry the traveling through their estate ; and

they have opened streets for sale. They recently sold $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres at auction, for \$9,000. The land was divided into 25 lots, fifty by one hundred feet. Judge Cooper of this place bought, about ten years ago, 15 acres for \$1,500, which would now sell for \$20,000.

The capital of the Manhattan Bank is \$100,000. The building is improperly situated close by stables, and is much exposed to fire. In consequence of the trade with Canada, specie is continually accumulating here. It affords a great facility for the transmission of money to and from New York. A small Bank in Connecticut, named the Bridgeport Bank, of which Doctor Bronson is President, discounts notes here through a private agent. Having made an arrangement with the Merchants' Bank of New York, to take its notes, they became in good credit, and had an extensive circulation. As the Branch did not receive their notes in payment, they were constantly accumulating a balance against the institution. With a view to meet this evil, and to turn the tables on the adversary institution, the Branch now take the Bridgeport notes. I found that it is projected by the Directors to increase the stock of the Bank to \$500,000; to distribute it in the village, and to maintain its dependence upon, and connection with, the Manhattan Company, in order to prevent it from becoming a federal institution.

The town of Whitestown contains, besides Utica, two considerable villages, West Hartford and Whitesborough. This district of country has twenty-two lawyers.

I met here Bishop Moore, on a diocesan visitation to confirm the members of his Church. Also, Col. Curtenius. Dined at Mr. Kip's, who lives in handsome style, and who received us with great hospitality.

July 11th. Morris and Van Rensselaer were to travel by land as before ; here we met Gen. North and the Surveyor. We proceeded by land to Whitesborough, four miles from Utica, and there we divided, some of the company continuing to go by land and others taking to the boats.

Two miles from Utica we visited a famous cheesemaker, named Abraham Bradbury, an English Quaker. He has rented a farm of 163 acres, for \$500 per annum. He keeps thirty-six cows, and makes upwards of 400 cheeses a-year. Besides the cheese, the milk will support a great number of hogs. He is assisted by his wife and two sisters. His cheese is equal to the best English cheese that is imported, and he vends it for 1s. 3d. per pound. Notwithstanding his high rent, he clears upwards of \$1000 a-year by his establishment.

On Sauquoit Creek, a mile from Whitesborough, there is a large manufacturing establishment for spinning cotton. The works go by water. It is owned by a Company, and is denominated the Oneida Manufacturing Society. The stock is said to be profitable, and to be forty per cent. above par. It employs forty hands, chiefly young girls, who have an unhealthy appearance. It is on Arkwright's plan, and contains 384 spindles on six frames.

Whitesborough contains the Court-House, and is a handsome village. Several lawyers reside here on account of the Court-House. The federal candidate for Governor has a handsome house. Eight miles from Utica we passed Oriskany, where Herkimer's battle was fought.

We arrived at Rome for dinner, and put up at Isaac Lee's house, which is a large double three-story frame

building, called the Hotel. He rents it and ten acres of land from Dominick Lynch, for \$250 a-year.

Rome is on the highest land between Lake Ontario and the Hudson, at Troy. It is 390 feet above the latter; sixteen miles by land and twenty-one by water from Utica, and 106 miles by water from Schenectady. It is situated at the head of the Mohawk River and Wood Creek, that river running east and the Wood Creek west. You see no hills or mountains in its vicinity; a plain extends from it on all sides. It has a Court-House, a State Arsenal, a Presbyterian Church, and about seventy houses. Its excellent position on the Canal, which unites the Eastern and Western waters, and its natural communication with the rich counties on Black River, would render it a place of great importance, superior to Utica, if fair play had been given to its advantages. But its rising prosperity has been checked by the policy of its principal proprietor. When he first began to dispose of his lots, he asked what he called a fine of £30, and an annual rent of £7 10s., for each lot for ever. His subsequent conduct has been correspondent with this unfavorable indication, and has given Utica a start which Rome can never retrieve.

Two lots, sixty-six by 200 feet, sell from \$200 to \$250. Wild land in the vicinity sells from \$10 to \$12 50 per acre, and improved land for \$25. A Company was incorporated the last session of the Legislature, for manufacturing iron and glass, and half the stock is already filled up. The place has a Post Office and four lawyers. Rome being on a perfect level, we naturally ask from what has it derived its name? Where are its seven hills? Has it been named out of compliment to Lynch, who is a Roman Catholic?

Rome was laid out into a town, after the Canal was made or contemplated. It derives its principal advantages from this communication. Independent of the general rise it has given to Lynch's property, it has drained a large swamp for him near the village, which would otherwise have been useless; and yet he demanded from the Company, at first, \$7,000, and at last, \$5,000 for his land, through which the Canal was to pass. The appraisers gave him but nominal damages—one dollar.

The Canal at Rome is $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles long; 32 feet wide at top, and from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 feet deep. The locks are 73 feet long and 12 wide; 10 feet lift on the Mohawk, and 8 feet on Wood Creek.

July 12th. The Commissioners had a meeting here; all present. Adjourned to meet in Geneva. At this meeting the Senior Commissioner was for breaking down the mound of Lake Erie, and letting out the waters to follow the level of the country, so as to form a sloop navigation with the Hudson, and without any aid from any other water.

The site of Fort Stanwix or Fort Schuyler is in this village. It contains about two acres, and is a regular fortification, with four bastions and a deep ditch. The position is important in protecting the passage between the lakes and the Mohawk river. It is now in ruins, and partly demolished by Lynch, its proprietor. Since the Revolutionary War a block-house was erected here by the State, and is now demolished. About half a mile below the Fort, on the meadows, are the remains of an old fort, called Fort William; and about a mile west of Rome, near where Wood Creek enters the Canal, there was a regular

fort, called Fort Newport. Wood Creek is here so narrow that you can step over it.

Fort Stanwix is celebrated in the history of the Revolutionary War, for a regular siege which it stood. And as this and the battle of Oriskany are talked of all over the country, and are not embodied at large in history, I shall give an account of them, before they are lost in the memory of tradition.

After having dined on a salmon caught at Fish Creek, about eight miles from Rome, we departed in our boats on the descending waters of Wood Creek. And as we have now got rid of the Eastern waters, it may be proper to make some remarks on the Mohawk River.

This river is about 120 miles in length, from Rome to the Hudson. Its course is from west to east. The commencement of its navigation is at Schenectady. It is in all places sufficiently wide for sloop navigation; but the various shoals, currents, rifts, and rapids with which it abounds, and which are very perspicuously laid down on Wright's map, render the navigation difficult even for batteaux. The Canal Company have endeavored, by dams and other expedients, to deepen the river and improve the navigation, but they have only encountered unnecessary expense; the next freshet or rise of the river has either swept away their erections or changed the current. Mr. Weston, the engineer, from a view of the multifarious difficulties attendant on such operations, proposed to make a canal from Schoharie Creek to Schenectady, on the south side of the river; he only erred in not embracing the whole route of the Mohawk. The valley formed by that river is admirably calculated for a canal. The ex-

pense of digging it will not exceed that of a good turnpike. The river is good only as a feeder.

The young willows which line the banks of the river, and which are the first trees that spring up on alluviums, show the continual change of ground. No land can be more fertile than the flats of this extensive valley. The settlements here were originally made by migrations from Holland and Germany. The grants under the Dutch Governor were from given points on the Mohawk, embracing all the land south or north, meaning thereby to include only the interval land, and deeming the upland as nothing. Chief-Justice Yates said, that he recollected a witness to state in Court that he had travelled from Kinderhook to Albany and found no land.

The Mohawk is barren of fish. It formerly contained great plenty of trout—it now has none. The largest fish is the pike, which have been caught weighing fourteen pounds. Since the canal at Rome, chubb, a species of dace, have come into the Mohawk through Wood Creek, and are said to be plenty. A salmon and black bass have also been speared in this river, which came into it through the canal. It would not be a little singular if the Hudson should be supplied with salmon through that channel. The falls of the Cohoes oppose a great impediment to the passage of fish; but the Hudson is like the Mohawk, a very sterile river in that respect.

We saw great numbers of bitterns, blackbirds, robins, and bank swallows, which perforate the banks of the river. Also, some wood-ducks, gulls, sheldrakes, bob-linklins, king-birds, crows, kildares, small snipe, woodpeckers, woodcock, wrens, yellow birds, phebes, blue jays, high-holes, pigeons, thrushes, and larks. We also saw several

king-fishers, which denote the presence of fish. We shot several bitterns, the same as found on the salt marsh. The only shell fish were the snapping turtle and muscle.

We left Rome after dinner—five Commissioners, the surveyor, and a young gentleman. Morris and Van Rensselaer were to go by land and meet us at Geneva.

We went this day as far as Gilbert's Tavern on the north side of the creek, six and a-half miles by water, and four and a-half miles by land, from Rome.

We saw a bright red-bird about the size of a blue-bird. Its wings were tipped with black, and the bird uncommonly beautiful. It appeared to have no song, and no one present seemed to know its name. I saw but three besides in the whole course of my tour, one on the Ridge Road west of the Genesee River. It is, therefore, a *rara avis*.

On the banks of the creek were plenty of boneset, the Canada shrub, said to be useful in medicine, and a great variety of beautiful flowering plants. Wild gooseberry bushes, wild currants, and wild hops were also to be seen. The gooseberries were not good; the hops are said to be as good as the domestic ones. In the long weeds and thick underwood we were at first apprehensive of rattlesnakes, of which we were told there are three kinds—the large and the small, and the dark rattlesnake. But neither here nor in any part of our tour did we see this venomous reptile. The only animals we saw on this stream were the black squirrel and the hare, as it is called in Albany, a creature white in winter, of the rabbit kind, although much larger.

About a mile from the head of the creek we passed a small stream, from the south, called Black or Mud Creek.

Above Gilbert's the Company have erected four wooden locks, which are absolutely necessary, at a small expense, when compared with their stone locks at the Little Falls, which cost \$500. The Company have also shortened the distance on the whole route of the creek about four miles, the whole distance being about 28 miles, by cutting canals to meet the serpentine bend of the stream. It is susceptible of being shortened, so as to make only sixteen miles. The State reserved a thousand acres on the south side, from Gilbert's down to the Oneida Lake, to be applied to the improvement of the navigation. This land is overrun by squatters. From some causes which cannot be satisfactorily explained, unless connected with our mission, the stock of this Company can now be bought for \$200 a share—the nominal value is \$250.

We passed, on the north side of the creek, the appearance of an old fortification, called Fort Bull. The remains of an old dam, to impede the passage of a hostile fleet, and to assist the operations of the fort, were also to be seen. Although there is now a road on that side of the creek, yet in those days there could have been no marching by land with an army. The transportation of provisions must have been impracticable by land; and, indeed, the general appearance of the country exhibits a sunken morass or swamp, overgrown with timber and formed from the retreat of the lake.

Gilbert's house is a decent comfortable house, considering the little resort of travelers. The grounds around it are overflowed by the creek, and the situation unhealthy. He had procured fresh salmon from Fish creek for us, at 6d. a lb. We found it excellent. In the neighborhood of Gilbert's there is said to be good bog ore; we saw speci-

mens furnished by a man who had come to explore the country for that purpose.

We rose early in the morning, and breakfasted at the Oak-Orchard, six miles from Gilbert's on the south side of the river. The ground was miry, and in stepping into the boat, my foot slipped, and I was partly immersed in the creek. The captain assisted me in getting out. The dampness of the weather, and the sun being hardly risen, induced me, for greater precaution, to change my clothes. This trifling incident was afterwards magnified by the papers into a serious affair.

Near Gilbert's, the Canada Creek comes in from the north side, a mile west the Rocky or Black Creek, from the south. At Oak-Orchard the first rapid commences; as the creek was extremely low, we requested the locks to be left open above, two or three hours before we started. This furnished us with a flood of water, and accelerated our descent. We found, however, that we went faster than the water, and had frequently to wait. The creek was almost the whole distance choked with logs, and crooked beyond belief; in some places after bending in the most serpentine direction for a mile, it would return just below the point of departure. From Wright's survey, the distance—

	Miles. Chains.	
From Gilbert's to the mouth of the creek, by the old route—is	21	24
By the present route, as improved by the Canal Company,	17	61
On a straight line, which is practicable for a Canal,	9	44

We stopped at Smith's, a German, who lives on the

south side of the creek, and about eight miles from the Oneida Lake. The creek is sandy, and very winding from this place,—the sand, accumulated at such a distance from the lake, demonstrates the truth of my theory respecting the formation of the ground from Rome to the lake. Smith is not forty years of age, and has been settled here fifteen years. He has six daughters, five of whom are married; two sons, twenty-five grand-children, and one great-grand-child, who almost all reside in his vicinity. The female part of his descendants were assembled to rake his hay; their children were brought with them, and the whole exhibited a picture of rural manners and rude industry, not unpleasing.

About six miles from the lake we saw the remains of a batteaux, sunk by the British on their retreat from the siege of Fort Stanwix.

Four miles from the lake we dined at one Babbitts', on the north side of the creek. We found, on such occasions, our own provisions and liquors, and were only provided with house-room and fire for cooking. The family were obliging and simple. They had been forewarned of our approach, and their attention was turned towards the contemplated canal. As they are the proprietors of the soil, which was purchased from General Hamilton, they were apprehensive that the canal would be diverted from them, and pass through Camden, and the old lady said she would charge us nothing, if we straitened the creek and lowered the lake. The only potable water here is from the creek, which is very bad, and no other can be procured, as the creek is on a level with the surrounding country. The family furnished us with tolerable vinegar, made of maple juice. The old lady, on being interroga-

ted as to the religion she professed, said that she belonged to the church, but what church she could not tell. The oracle of the family was a deformed, hump-backed young man, called John. On all occasions his opinions were as decisive as the responses of the sybil; and he reminded us of the Arabian Night's Entertainment, which represents persons hump-backed as possessed of great shrewdness. John told us a story of Irish Peggy, a girl whom he described as going down in a batteaux, so handsome and well-dressed that she attracted him and all the young men in the neighborhood, who visited the charming creature; that on her return some weeks afterwards, she looked as ugly as she had been before beautiful, and was addicted to swearing and drunkenness; that she had been indirectly the cause of the death of three men; that one of them, a negro, was drowned in a lock, who had gone to sleep on the deck of the boat, in order to accommodate her and her paramour; that another fell overboard, when she had retired with her gallant, and prevented by it assistance that might have saved him; and that the third one experienced a similar fate. The commodore did not fail to extract a moral from John's story, favorable to the cause of good morals; and admonished him to beware of the lewd woman, "whose house is the way to hell, going down to the chambers of death."

A boat passed us at this house, which speared a salmon with a boat-hook in passing under a bridge. The frequent passage of boats, and the shallowness of the waters, terrify the salmon from ascending in great numbers beyond this place.

We passed James Dean's old house on the right, about two miles from the lake. He first went among the Onei-

das as a silversmith, vending trinkets. He afterwards acted as an interpreter, and coaxed them out of large tracts of land. He is now rich, a Judge of Oneida county, has been a member of Assembly, and is a prominent Federalist.

Fish Creek enters Wood Creek, a mile from the lake, on the north side. It is much larger and deeper, and derives its name from the excellent fish with which it abounds, up to the Falls, which are ten miles from its mouth. It is frequented by great numbers of salmon; and we saw Indians with their spears at work after that fish, and met two canoes going on the same business, with their pine knots and apparatus ready for the attack. The Indians have reserved the land on each side of this creek, in order to secure themselves the benefit of fishing.

The confluence of these streams makes a considerable river from this place to the Oneida Lake, deep, wide, and gloomy, and resembling the fabled Avernus. You can see the track of its black and muddy waters a considerable distance in the great basin into which it discharges.

We arrived at Mrs. Jackson's tavern, at seven o'clock, near the mouth of Wood Creek, which enters Oneida Lake from the north-east. To the west, the eye was lost in the expanse of waters, there being no limits to the horizon. A western wind gently agitated the surface of the waters. A number of canoes darting through the lake after fish in a dark night, with lighted flambeaux of pine knots fixed on elevated iron frames, made a very picturesque and pleasing exhibition. We walked on the beach, composed of the finest sand, like the shores of the ocean, and covered with a few straggling trees. Here we met with an Indian canoe, filled with eels, salmon, and mon-

strous cat-fish. In another place we saw the native of the woods cooking his fish and eating his meal on the beach. We could not resist the temptation of the cold bath. On returning to the house, we found an excellent supper prepared ; the principal dish was salmon, dressed in various ways.

The salmon come into this lake in May, and continue till winter. They are said to eat nothing. This is the season of their excellence. They formerly sold for one shilling a-piece ; now the current price is sixpence a pound. The salmon are annoyed by an insect called a tick, and run up into the cold spring brooks for relief.

Near this tavern there are to be seen the marks of an old fortification, covering about one-eighth of an acre, and called the Royal Block-House. In this place, Col. Porter and the young gentlemen made a tent of the sails and setting poles, and, with the aid of a fire and our mattresses, had a good night's lodging. The other Commissioners slept in the house ; the window panes were out and the doors open. The resort of Indians and the sandy ground had drawn together a crowd of fleas, which, with the musquitoes, annoyed us beyond sufferance the whole night. Some of the family sat up late ; the creakings of a crazy old building and the noise of voices, added to our other annoyances, completely deprived us of rest. The house was in other respects a comfortable one. The ice, which we used to correct the badness of the creek water, had a pleasant effect.

We found here a new species of mullen, with a white bushy top of flowers. Sometimes the top was yellow. The common mullen was also plenty. .

July 14th. Although the wind on this lake is generally

easterly in the morning and westerly in the afternoon, yet we had no other resource than our oars. At the entrance of the Wood Creek, and about fifty rods from its mouth, we found a sand-bar forty rods wide. The shallowest part was two feet deep, and the channel between three and four feet wide.

The Oneida Creek comes in on the south side of the lake. At its mouth it is about as large as Wood Creek, and as you ascend one-third larger. There are no bars at its mouth. The salmon go up as far as Stockbridge. This Creek, Wood Creek, and Canaseragas Creek, are the principal sources which supply the Oneida Lake. According to the general computation, this lake is thirty miles long; but it does not exceed twenty miles in length, and from five to eight in breadth. In winter it freezes, and is passable in sleighs.

The waters of the lake were saturated with small dark atoms, which render them unsalubrious, and when drank, operate emetically, and produce fever. This, in the language of the boatmen, is termed the *lake blossom*. Whether it arises from the farina of the chestnut, or any other trees that blossom about this time, the eggs of insects, or collections of animalculæ, we could not determine. We examined the water by a microscope, and could come to no conclusion. If I were to give an opinion, it would be, that it is not an animal substance, but small atoms swept into the lake by the waters of Wood Creek, from the vegetable putrefactions generated in the swamps and marshes through which that stream runs.

Independently of several collections of sand and reeds, which can hardly be termed islands, and of an islet about the middle of the lake, which has a single tree, and looks

at a distance like a ship under sail, there are two islands, about two miles from the outlet, half a mile from the south shore of the lake. They are within a short distance from each other. One island contains fourteen acres, and the other, called Frenchman's Island, twenty-seven acres. A person can wade from one to the other ; and bears, in swimming the lake, frequently stop here to rest. These islands belong to the State.

One of the islands is called the Frenchman's Island, from a person of that nation, who took possession of it about fifteen years ago, with a beautiful wife. He resided there until the cold weather came, and then he wintered in Albany, Rome, or Rotterdam. He had a handsome collection of books, musical instruments, and all the appendages of former opulence and refinement. He was apparently discontented and depressed—cultivated a handsome garden with his own hands, and sowed half-an-acre of wheat, which had a beautiful appearance. His wife bore him children here, and altogether he had three. He became by practice a very expert fowler, hunter, and angler, and was a hard-worker. He lived here seven summers. He spent a winter at the Oneida Castle, and sent his clothes for washing sometimes to Albany. When he first came, he had a considerable sum of money, and, becoming poor, he sold some of his books for subsistence, and he bartered some valuable ones to Major Dezeng for two cows. He was very proud and reserved—went at last bare-headed, and the general suspicion was, that jealousy was the cause of his seclusion. They visited their neighbor Stevens, at the outlet, twice a-year. We were told by Mrs. Stevens, that his name was Devity or Devitz ; that his countrymen in Albany made a subscrip-

tion, which enabled him to go to France, with his family ; that she returned the visits of the family, and found them apparently happy ; and that in her opinion, the French-woman had no extraordinary pretensions to beauty.

We stopped at a house at the north side of the lake, in the town of Bengal. The proprietor bought sixty-six acres from J. Munro, for four dollars an acre. The family were eagerly engaged in the salmon fishing, and they told us that they sometimes caught with the seine one hundred per day ; that fifteen fill a large barrel, for which they ask twelve dollars in salt. They also informed us that shad recently came up the lake. The salmon frequently weighs twenty pounds. The black or Oswego bass is a fine fish, sometimes weighing eight pounds, and is like our black fish, but harder.

As we approached Rotterdam, we saw a seine drawn at the mouth of a small cold brook, and six salmon caught at a haul. A kingfisher, as large as a hawk, was also flying about for prey. We amused ourselves on our voyage over the lake, by trolling with a hook and bait of red cloth and white feathers, and caught several Oswego bass, yellow perch, and pikes.

We dined at Rotterdam, a decayed settlement of George Sinba's, eleven miles from the outlet, containing eight or ten houses, and exhibiting marks of a premature growth. There are mills on a small creek, and while at dinner, our men speared several fish in it—among others, one eighteen inches long, spotted, the head like a cat-fish, and downwards resembling an eel, but like a dog-fish in shape. Some called it an *eel-pout*, and others a *curse*. It appears to be a nondescript.

Sinba's agent, Mr. Dundass, was absent at Salina. We

were well received by his house-keeper, and dined on *chowder*, prepared by Gen. North. The thermometer here was at 75°. We were told that fleas infest all new settlements for the first two years, particularly in pine or sandy countries, and that we must not expect to escape them. Our Commodore appeared old and decayed, although there were two older men among the Commissioners. Supporting himself upon a stick, he attracted the commiseration of an old man, seventy years of age, in the log-house this morning, who rose from his seat and said, "Old daddy, shall I hand you a chair?" We were happy to see our chief revive under the potent influence of port and chowder.

After dinner we continued our voyage with an adverse wind. As the evening shades prevailed, we were saluted with the melancholy notes of the loon. We passed three boats under sail going up the lake.

This night we slept at Stevens's, at the outlet of the lake, nine miles by land and eleven by water from Rotterdam. Here commences Onondaga or Oneida river, the only outlet of the lake, about as large as the mouth of Wood Creek. The bars at the outlet are rocky, wide, difficult to remove, and so shallow that a horse can easily pass over them. There are two eel weirs here, in which many are caught. Stevens has lived in this place, which is in the town of Constantia, eighteen years; has rented it for seventeen years, at \$75 a-year. He has no neighbors within four miles on this side of the river. On the other side is the town of Cicero, in which there are several settlements. This is a clean house, in which we were as well accommodated as the situation of the country would admit.

There is a small island at the mouth of the river, containing six acres, and belonging to the State, for sale.

Several Onondaga Indians were here. Numerous boats, traversing the river at night for salmon, and illuminated with fine flambeaux, made a brilliant appearance. A curious fungus or excrescence of the pine, with thirty rings, denoting thirty years' growth, was shown here. It is used for bitters and is very scarce. Black raspberries grow wild in great abundance. They composed, with fresh salmon, the principal part of our supper.

Stevens's is twelve miles from Salina by land, and thirty-two by water. The salt used in the country is brought the latter way, and is purchased at the springs for 2s. or 1s. 6d. per bushel.

Land in Cicero or Cato, is worth from three to five dollars per acre. Stevens told us that they had no other preacher than Mr. Shepherd, who lived over the river in Cicero; that he formerly resided in Goshen, and got three military lots as captain or major of artificers, although not legally entitled to them,—that Judge Thompson, a member of the Senate, and of Orange county, received one lot as a fee for his services in getting the law passed.

Stevens's house is one quarter of a mile from the mouth of the lake. Deer come close up to it. We saw an adder and another snake sunning themselves on the ramparts of Fort Brewster, in the rear of the house. This was erected in the French War, was a regular work, ditch and bastions, all covering about an acre. This must have been an important pass to defend, and would now be an excellent site for a town. It belongs to Chancellor Lansing, who asks fifteen dollars an acre.

On Sunday, about five weeks back from this day, a ter-

rible tornado was felt at this place, about sundown. The wind was south-west and attended with rain. It had nearly unroofed the house, passed over Camillus, the salt springs, was felt at Rome about nine o'clock, and proceeded down the Mohawk.

The following questions are worthy of consideration, in reference to lowering the outlet of the lake :—

1. May it not lower or drain off the waters of Wood Creek?

2. May not the draining of the land render the country more unhealthy than at present?

July 15th. Sunday. The surveyor being employed in taking the level of the outlet, we did not get out until eleven o'clock. Our object was to reach Three-River Point this day. The distance by land is seven, and by water, eighteen and three-quarter miles. The whole length of the outlet is, then, nineteen miles. In width it varies from forty to one hundred yards. The banks are low, and covered on both sides with nut, oak, and maple, and beach trees, denoting the richest land.

Four miles from Stevens's, Comeroy Creek enters the river, on the south side. For a considerable distance below there is shallow water with a stony bottom, rapid current and rift, more difficult than the one at the outlet, making a fall of three-and-a-half feet.

On our way down, I saw several large flocks of ducks and two large eagles. Col. Porter shot one of them on the wing—he was alive, and measured eight feet from the extremity of one wing to another. He was a bald eagle; his talons were formidable; head and tail white. At Three-River Point he beat off several dogs in a pitched battle.

After having dined aboard, near one Vickery's, whose

house was well filled with Lyons' speeches, we proceeded, and passed the grave of a drowned Frenchman, who once shot a panther when in the attitude of leaping at him, nine feet and eleven inches long. The head is now in Walton's store, at Schenectady.

Before sundown we reached Three-River Point. This place derives its name from the confluence of the Oneida and Seneca Rivers, and the river formed by this junction, is then denominated Oswego River. It lies in Cicero, on the south side of the Oneida River, is part of a Gospel lot, and an excellent position for a town. All the salt-boats from the Springs, and the boats from the Cayuga and Seneca Lakes, rendezvous at this place; and we found the house, which is kept by one Magie, crowded with noisy drunken people, and the landlord, wife, and son were in the same situation. The house being small and dirty, we took refuge in a room in which were two beds and a weaver's loom, a beaufet and dressers for tea utensils, and furniture, and there we had a very uncomfortable collation.

Col. Porter erected his tent and made his fire on the hill, where he was comfortably accommodated with the young gentlemen. I reconnoitered up stairs; but in passing to the bed, I saw several dirty, villainous-looking fellows in their bunks, and all placed in the same garret. I retreated from the disgusting scene, and left Gen. North, Mr. De Witt, and Mr. Geddes, in the undisputed possession of the *Attic beds*. The Commodore and I took possession of the beds below; but previous to this, we were assured by an apparently decent girl, that they were free from vermin, and that the beds above were well stored with them. Satisfied with this assurance, we prepared ourselves for a comfortable sleep, after a fatiguing day. But no sooner were we

lodged, than our noses were assailed by a thousand villainous smells, meeting our olfactory nerves in all directions, the most potent exhalation arising from boiled pork, which was left close to our heads. Our ears were invaded by a commingled noise of drunken people in an adjacent room, of crickets in the hearth, of rats in the walls, of dogs under the beds, by the whizzing of mosquitoes about our heads, and the flying of bats about the room. The women in the house were continually pushing open the door, and pacing the room for plates, and knives, and spoons; and the dogs would avail themselves of such opportunities to come in under our beds. Under these circumstances sleep was impracticable; and, after the family had retired to rest, we heard our companions above rolling about restless in their beds. This we set down to the credit of the bugs, and we hugged ourselves on our superior comforts. We were, however, soon driven up by the annoyance of vermin. On lighting a candle and examining the beds, we found that we had been assailed by an army of bed-bugs, aided by a body of light infantry in the shape of fleas, and a regiment of musquito cavalry. I retreated from the disgusting scene and immediately dressed myself, and took refuge in a segar.

Leaving the Commodore to his meditations, I went out on the Point. The moon was in its full orb and blaze of unclouded majesty. Here my feelings were not only relieved, but my mind was elevated by the scenery before me. The ground on which I stood was elevated; below me flowed the Oneida River, and on my left the Seneca poured its waters, and uniting together they formed a majestic stream. Flocks of white geese were sporting on the water—a number of boats lying moored to the banks—a white

tent erected on the right, enlivened by a blazing fire—an Indian hut on the opposite bank, displaying the red man of the forest, and his family, preparing for the sports of the day—the bellowing of thousands of frogs in the waters, and the roaring of bloodhounds, in pursuit of deer and foxes, added to the singularity of the scene. My mind became tranquillized, and I availed myself of a vacant mattress in the tent, and enjoyed a comfortable sleep of two hours.

The next day, Gen. North and myself found bed-bugs on our persons. As this is the most frequent and formidable enemy to sleep that we encountered, it may not be amiss to state, that a flannel shirt is said to be a good protection against them, and that camphor, put under your pillow, is represented to be more efficacious.

Salina is thirteen miles by water from this place. In the neighboring town of Camillus, a quarry of gypsum has been discovered, of the grey kind, and said to be very good. A Company, called the Onondaga Gypsum Company, has been established to work it.

July 16th. We left this disagreeable place as soon as light would permit, and gave it the name of BUG BAY, which it will probably long retain.

Three-River Rapid commences about two miles from the Point. Here we saw salt-boats below the rapid, which unloaded half their cargoes in order to get over it,—also rafts from the Cayuga Lake, which had been detained four weeks, by the lowness of the water. The rafts intended to form a junction at Oswego, and to proceed over Lake Ontario, and thence down the St. Lawrence to Quebec. It is supposed they will bring \$20,000 at that place. The attempt is extremely hazardous. Below the

rapids, there was an encampment of Onondaga Indians ; some of their canoes were composed of Elm Bark.

Two or three miles farther we passed a rapid, called the Horse-Shoe Rapid. The Oswego River is about twenty-four miles long. The fall from Three-River Point to Oswego, is about 112 feet. It contains a great many rapids, which I shall specify. Considering that it is constituted by the Oneida and Seneca Rivers, which proceed from the Oneida, the Onondaga, the Cayuga, the Seneca, the Canandaigua, the Oswego, and the Skeneateles Lakes, it is surprising that it is not larger. It is about the width of the Mohawk, and appears like that river reversed. The river scenery is delightful. The large and luxuriant trees on its banks form an agreeable shade, and indicate great fertility.

After proceeding seven miles, we breakfasted at a fine cool brook on the north side, and at the foot of Horse-Shoe Rapid. Our breakfast consisted of common bread, Oswego bread and biscuit, coffee and tea, without milk, butter, perch, salmon, and Oswego bass ; fried pork, ham, boiled pork and Bologna sausages, old and new cheese, wood-duck, teal and dipper. Some of these, luxuries as they may appear on paper, were procured by our guns and fishing tackle, on our descent. We saw plenty of wild ducks, some wild pigeons and partridges, some of which we shot. We were also successful in trolling for fish. The crane, the fish-hawk, the king-fisher, and the bald-eagle, we saw, but no bitterns on the descending river. At this place we tasted the wild cucumber, the root of which is white and pleasant, with a spicy, pleasant taste. Why it is called the cucumber is not easy to imagine, as there is no point of resemblance.

In a smart shower we arrived at the celebrated Falls of Oswego, twelve miles from Three-River Point, and twelve miles from Oswego. There is a carrying place of a mile here, the upper and lower landing being that distance apart. At both landings there were about 15,000 barrels of salt, containing five bushels each, and each bushel weighing fifty-six pounds. It is supposed that the same quantity has been already carried down, making altogether 30,000 barrels. The carriage at this place is one shilling for each barrel. Loaded boats cannot with safety descend the Falls, but light boats may, notwithstanding the descent is twelve feet, and the roaring of the troubled waves among great rocks is really terrific. Pilots conduct the boats over for one dollar each; and being perfectly acquainted with the Falls, no accidents are known to happen, although the least miss step would dash the vessels to atoms. The Falls are composed of high rocks, apparently granite. The ascent by boat is impracticable.

On the south side of the river is Hannibal, in Onondaga, and on the north side, Fredericksburgh, in Oneida County. The State has reserved forty acres at the Falls, on the north side, which Joshua Forman has leased for eighteen years, and has erected a saw and grist-mill, by which he has blocked up the ancient carrying-place, that did not exceed one hundred yards. He is the proprietor of the adjacent land, on both sides of the river. There are a few houses at the carrying-place, and an excellent quarry of free-stone, between the two landings. A little below the Upper Falls, a ravine, the ancient bed of a creek, appears, which falls in just below the Lower. Here a canal might be easily cut round the Falls.

We left our squadron above the Upper Falls, and hired

a boat to conduct us to Oswego, from the lower landing. The wind was adverse, and the weather showery, but the descent was so favorable that we progressed with great rapidity. The river downwards is full of rapids, which I shall notice, and the banks precipitous and rocky. We dined at L. Van Volkenburgh's tavern, two miles on our way, and on the north side. This situation is very pleasant; two islands opposite the house. On our way we saw fragments of the rafts before-mentioned, at different places all along the river.

A strong rapid, eight miles from Oswego, is called by the boatmen Braddock's Rift, by a misnomer. It ought to be denominated Bradstreet's. At the foot of this rapid, there is an island of ten acres, called Bradstreet's island, where, our pilot told us, he was defeated by the Indians, who attacked him from each side of the river. The island is in the center, and the river narrow. Here tradition is contradictory to history.

We passed a number of salt-boats. The commerce in salt is great between Oswego and the Falls. As we approached the former place the country bore marks of cultivation; the banks became more elevated, the current increased in force, and the rapids in number. About seven miles from Oswego we encountered a rapid called Smooth Rock Rapid. Six and a-half miles, the Devil's Horn; six miles, the Six-Mile Rift; then the Little Smooth Rock Rapid, the Devil's Warping Bars; four miles, the Devil's Horse Race; and one mile from Oswego, the Oswego Rift, a violent rapid, nearly as bad as the Oswego Falls, having a fall of at least five feet.

We arrived at Oswego at seven P. M., and put up at a tolerable tavern, kept by E. Parsons, called Colonel. He

was second in command in Shay's insurrection, and formerly kept an inn in Manlius-Square. He was once selected as foreman of the Grand Jury of Onondaga County. He appears to be a civil man of moderate intellect; determined, however, to be in opposition to government, he is now an ardent Federalist. He gives two hundred dollars rent for an indifferent house. Another innkeeper gives three hundred for a house not much superior; and this little place contains already three taverns.

July 17th. Oswego is a place celebrated in our colonial history as one of the great depôts of the fur trade. It was strenuously contended for by the French and English, in their American wars. During the Revolutionary contest it was occupied by the British, who held it in defiance of the treaty of peace, until it was delivered up under Jay's treaty. As an important post, commanding the communication between the lakes and the waters that communicate with the Hudson, it must ever claim the attention of Government.

It is situated on the south side of the Oswego River, near its entrance into Lake Ontario, in latitude $43^{\circ} 27' 52''$, as ascertained by the Surveyor-General, in 1797, with great exactness, when he laid out a town here. The State reserved No. 1, in the military township of Hannibal, as public property. The streets are laid out one hundred feet wide, and their course is determined astronomically, north-west and south-east, $22^{\circ} 12'$, and northeast and southwest, $67^{\circ} 48'$. Those running parallel with the river are denominated First, Second, Third, &c., and the streets intersecting them are called after the signs of the Zodiac.

The blocks are 396 feet long, and 200 feet wide. It is contemplated by the plan, to have a fish-market, and a

common market on the river. Ground is reserved for a public square of fourteen acres, for an Academy, a Prison, Court-house, and Cemetery.

The houses are not built on this plan, and are huddled together in a confused manner. There are at present fourteen houses, six log-houses, six warehouses, and five stores, and five wharves, covered with barrels of salt, at which were four square-rigged vessels. A Post-office, Custom-house, three physicians; no Church, or lawyer.

The salt trade seems to be the chief business of this place. There was a brig on the stocks. There belong here eleven vessels, from eighty-two to fifteen tons, the whole tonnage amounting to 413. To Genesee River, one of twenty-two tons; to Niagara, two—one of fifty, and one of eighty-five, making 135 tons; to Oswegatchie, two, of fifty tons each; to Kingston, in Upper Canada, eight, from ninety to twenty-eight tons; and to York, two, of forty tons each, all engaged in the Lake trade.

In 1807, 17,078 barrels of salt were shipped from this place. In 1808, upwards of 19,000, and 3,000 were not carried away for want of vessels. In 1809, 28,840 barrels were sent directly to Canada, and this year it will exceed 30,000. Salt now sells at Kingston, at \$4 50 per barrel, and at Pittsburgh at from \$8 50 to \$9.

A barrel of salt at Oswego costs \$2 50 in cash; and at Salina \$2, probably \$1 50. By a law of the State salt cannot be sold by the State lessees for more than 62 cents per bushel.

The conveyance of a barrel of salt from Salina to the Upper Falls of Oswego is, in time of good water, two shillings—in low water, three shillings. The same price is asked from the Lower Falls to Oswego.

The distance from Oswego to Niagara is 160 miles. It takes a fortnight to go up and return. The vessels carry from 170 to 440 casks, and the conveyance of a cask costs fifty cents. The lake can be navigated six and a half months in the year. The wages of a common sailor are \$20 per month. If the inland navigation was perfected, salt could be conveyed to Albany for three shillings per bushel. Two-thirds of the salt that is exported from Oswego, is consumed on the Ohio.

Two men of the name of Alvord, in partnership, manufacture 4,000 barrels of salt at Salina, annually, which have been sold at Pittsburgh for \$10 per barrel, until recently. The Collector says that the value of property exported from Oswego in 1808, amounted to near \$536,000. In the time of the embargo, the value of property carried out of a district was known. None of this went directly to Canada. In 1807, it was \$167,000 more. Upper Canada is supplied with teas and East India goods through this place. The press of business is in spring and fall. In winter this is a place of no business, and all the stores are shut up. Now two of their merchants intend to carry on trade in the winter. There is no fur trade. The value of the carrying trade from Oswego Falls here, last year, amounted to \$40,000.

Sturgeon have been caught in the lake that weigh 100 pounds. The Muscalunga, a very fine fish of the pickerel kind, is sometimes got of 45 pounds weight. The white fish, a very delicious fish, is also had here in the fall. Salmon have been caught at Van Valkenburgh's, in the open part of the river, in every month of the year. They sometimes weigh 37 pounds. The boats frighten them away, and as they are very shy, they are not so nu-

merous as formerly. In the spring of the year they are in the best order. Big Salmon Creek is their favorite haunt. There are two kinds of bass in the river—black, or Oswego bass, and rock bass. They differ in shape. The salmon pass Oswego in April, in great numbers, and are caught at that time. In September and October, when they return to the lake, they are again caught ; but at this season none are to be procured.

In Oswego and Seneca Rivers, and I think in Oneida River, considerable circular collections or piles of gravel are to be found, in the water near the shore, and sometimes on the margin of the water. Many are to be seen at very short distances, and they are evidently the work of some animal, exhibiting uniformity and design. As they appear the latter end of June, or beginning of July, when there are no freshets, and when the salmon and bass ascend, it is supposed they are erected by fish. By some they are called *bass-heaps*, and by others they are imputed to lamprey eels.

The river at Oswego is twelve chains wide. All the lake rivers have bars at their mouths. The bar in this river is eight and a half feet deep, the channel is about two rods wide, and the mouth of the bar is about 150 feet. Where the river enters the lake its course is to be traced by the blackness of its waters. The lake water is green, transparent, and fit to drink.

In walking on the banks of the lake, we should have thought ourselves on the shores of the Atlantic, were we not stepping on immense piles of granite and schistic, which defend the land against the inroads of the water. The eye is lost in the immensity of the waters. Ontario is as large as the Caspian. It never freezes throughout. Its

length varies from 120 to 180 miles, and its breadth is about 60. It has been observed that the lake diminishes; and this is attributed by some to the removal of the obstructions, bars and rocks, at the outlet. We saw a brig from Kingston enter the port with a fine north-easterly wind. Here is a brig of the United States, mounting 16 guns, and one thirty-two pounder, which was driven on the beach last winter by the ice. As soon as the British heard of the building of this vessel they immediately built a thirty gun brig, in order to have a superiority on the lake.

On the south-west side of the river, and on the banks of the lake, are the ruins of an old French fort, with ditches and bastions, and stone buildings in ruin, which were probably magazines. The side bounded by the lake is level, and not ditched, so that unless it was defended here by wooden erections, it was only intended to protect against attacks from the land. This fort has covered four or five acres. There is a burying-ground near, and a few head-stones. The only one inscribed has the following:—*“Roger Cor Bert, 1742.”*

Quere.—May not there have been an ancient Indian fort, adjacent to the French fort? Appearances may warrant this surmise.

The French had another fort to the south of this some distance, and not far from the lake.

In the village, commencing at Parson's tavern, the seat of the contemplated Fish Market, and extending between three and four hundred yards up on the river, are to be observed the remains of old Dutch trading houses. The stone foundations yet remain even with the ground. The doors opened inside, and there was another tier of houses

in the rear, forming an oblong square. The whole was intended as a safe depository for goods, and to keep off the Indians.

Fort Oswego is on the north side of the lake. Its latitude, as astronomically determined, is $43^{\circ} 28' 5''$. It was erected by the English, and abandoned as a garrison by the government, about ten years ago, and is now little better than a heap of ruins. The State have reserved a mile square, including the fort, for such works of defence as may be necessary. It is a regular fort, and has been strong. It had bastions, ditch, palisadoes, and bomb-proof castle. It covered, with all its appendages, about ten acres, and the interior contained three. The barracks are pulled down or burnt. The stone with which this work was erected was taken from the French forts and Dutch houses at Oswego, where the Dutch had erected stone houses for trading, and from whence they were expelled by the French. On one of the stones in the dry mason work of the fort, is "1711," supposed to be taken from a Dutch house. Another stone, cut in two, from the half letters it probably had "1727." On another is inscribed "St. Hyde—Clarke, Serjeant 3d Regt., 1742." On another, "Robert Hutton, 1742;" on another, "1741;" on another, "A. L. 1742;" another, "1749." There are two stones reversed: on one is inscribed, "Rosiol Thomas, the black Dane, 1742;" and on the other, "A. H. Philips, 1761." These inscriptions being reversed, show that they were cut before the stones were put in the walls.

Near the fort, a large stone was dug, two feet under ground, marked "Nicholas Schuyler, Esq., 21 August," the year effaced. This the collector, Joel Burt, Esq., has on the outside of his chimney back.

When the Indians are interred, their guns, kettles, and wampum are buried with them. An Indian grave was dug up on the banks of the lake a few days ago; the bones were in a high state of preservation. His wampum and kettle were found with him, but no gun. This interment must have taken place seventy years ago.

Grind-stones are procured here, and answer very well, called Oswego grind-stones. I found a curious pumice stone on the lake shore, like a wasp's nest, and as if perforated by that insect.

The first house erected here since the evacuation by the British, was built by Mr. Joel Burt, of Orange county, who has been settled here seven years. He has six sons here, with families, and none have experienced any considerable sickness. He had not a single neighbor. He had to go forty miles to mill, and 100 for other provisions. He has considerable land in this country, and intends to augment by purchasing No. 6 in Hannibal, which runs back of the village, and which he believes can be procured for six dollars per acre, from one Cunningham, in Orange. One of his sons is Collector and Post-master. We saw in the post office, several *County Columbians*, and the *Guardian*, of Upper Canada, printed at Niagara, by one Woolwich.

The embargo enriched the frontier settlements, and the impediments to a free intercourse with Canada became very unpopular. In this place there was a combination to resist the execution of the embargo laws. The Collector was menaced, and his life jeopardized; and he is now harassed with suits for refusing clearances for vessels to go to Sackett's Harbor, with potash, &c.

The owner of a wharf, of the name of Wentworth, an-

nounces to the public that he shall charge no wharfage for vessels that load at his wharf, but that others coming to it must pay—the one nearest the wharf fifty cents per day; the one next, twenty-five; the third, twelve and one-half, and the fourth, six and one-fourth. One hour to be considered a day.

At this place we saw a Yankee, whom we had before seen at Three-River Point, exploring the country for land. He journeyed on foot, appeared to be acute, and was not a little forward. He expressed an anxiety to travel with us, and said he had bargained for No. 6 Camillus, at three dollars per acre. He was particularly anxious about the title. His whole behavior was characteristic, and he no doubt intended to squat on the first choice land he could select, belonging to the State. As a contrast to the Yankee, we saw a Frenchman, his wife, and children, and another Frenchman on his voyage from Niagara to Montreal, in a small boat, twice the size of a common canoe. He was a mason and cooper, and on the look out for better times. He had been three and a half days on his way here. His blankets were sails; two of his three boys rowed; he coasted along the lake. He had four chairs, a kettle, pans, &c., three or four barrels, two dogs, a fishing spear, and iron frame for pine lights, a crab net, fishing lines and gun. With these accommodations he provided for his large family—the whole exhibiting poverty, filth, and happiness. With his blankets and sails, he had, in consequence of high winds, encamped here for a day or two.

At Parson's house there was a girl making straw hats. She could make one worth six dollars in nine days. In various places people make their own hats of coarse straw.

We were informed here that five hundred American wood-cutters had gone over to Canada to cut wood, and that after they had completed their operations, their timber and staves were seized by two persons to whom the King's right had been sold by the Government. A reservation of all pines for the use of the King is contained in his patents or grants. The general opinion was that the King was entitled to none, except such as were marked "G. R." by his surveyor.

Mr. Kibbie, a salt merchant, informed us that salt works were erected on the Great Kenhaway, seventy miles from Pittsburgh, which would undersell us at that place, for seven dollars per barrel. On subsequent inquiry, we had reason to suppose that this was a false alarm, raised for speculating purposes ; that the Kenhaway navigation is almost impracticable ; and that the water is of a very inferior quality, and the salt works, if any, on a very limited scale.

The Surveyor-General injured one of the bones of his arm in a fall ; and this very unpleasant accident, which we were fearful would deprive us of the benefit and pleasure of his company, at first threw us into a gloom. But in the course of the day he was greatly relieved by medical aid, particularly by the application of opodeldoc. Our Surveyor is fond of poetry and botany, and in other respects a man well-informed, considering his opportunities ; of considerable sagacity, well-behaved, and a very clever fellow. The commodore's son was unfortunately deaf from his infancy. He has read a great deal ; his memory is tenacious, his mind not discriminating, and his temper bad. There is no other way of communicating with him but by signs or writing.

July 18th. We left Oswego in the morning, and in order to facilitate the passage of the boat over the worst rapids, we walked on the south side of the river five miles, to Pease's Tavern, where we took a collation. During the walk, Mr. Geddes showed us the place of the canal and locks, as proposed by him. We dined, and put up for the night at Van Valkenburgh's Tavern. About four miles from this tavern north, there is a new beaver dam, inhabited by beavers. I regret that we had not heard of this in time, as I should have undoubtedly visited this singular building. There is also an excellent trout stream near this house.

This must have been the night of the great frost, which destroyed so much corn in the western country. We rose at three o'clock, and found it cold, although we walked three miles to the Upper Falls. The Commodore had a quarrel with the landlord, who wanted to extort four shillings too much for carrying our baggage to the Upper Falls. The landlord was appointed a Justice last winter, and says he does not thank the Council for it; because he says he is a Republican. He pertinaciously insisted on his charge, and said, "What odds does it make to you—the State pays for it!"

We embarked, after this important dispute was accommodated, in our own boats, at five o'clock, and breakfasted after going two miles, at the widow Van Waggoner's, on the north side. On the south side, and half-a-mile from the Upper Falls, there is a fine lake for fishing, two miles long and one broad, called Fish Lake.

During our absence there was a ball at the Upper Falls, and one of the boatmen broke it up by cutting off a dog's tail, and letting the animal loose among the young women,

whose clothes it besmeared with blood. This exhibits a picture of barbarous manners that would hardly be practised at Kamschatka.

When we arrived at the foot of Three-River Rift, we got out on the south side, and walked to the head of the rapid. We passed in our walk an Indian encampment, of four families. There was a babe naked in a blanket ; another fastened to a board ; and an Indian boy of some size destitute of clothes. Between two divisions of the dwelling, and in the center, there was a fire to accommodate each department, if it may be so called. Venison and fish of different kinds were hung for drying or roasting. Indian girls were making wampum, and the men actively employed on the river spearing fish.

We arrived at Three-River Point at three o'clock, and found all the family sober. Most of them were sick with the dysentery, although the house was comparatively clean and decent. The Captain says that he has seen Ann, the girl of the house, drink three glasses of whisky, successively, although the commodore was so much pleased with her that he gave her a dollar. We had a hearty laugh at our Federal friends, when we understood that Magie is a violent Federalist, and probably will soon establish a Washington Benevolent Society.

The commodore insisted upon chowder for dinner. This detention, and the consequent dilution of port, in a very hot afternoon, detained us till five o'clock, and exposed us to great danger in traversing the waters of the Seneca at night.

There is a rapid near the confluence, called Ganseris Rift ; beyond this the river is deep and black, apparently without a current until you arrive at Jack's Rift. The

banks are low and covered with wood. This river is nearly as wide as the Mohawk. On the approach of night it has a very unpleasant smell, and fever seems to hover over you. It looks like the Valley of the Shadow of Death, to borrow an idea from Gen. North. There is no house until you progress seven miles, to the cold spring on the right bank, where there is a log dwelling, and a cooper's shop for supplying Salina with salt barrels. A mile farther, the outlet of the Onondaga Lake falls into the river, on the left side. It is said there are muscles here as large as clams.

At eleven o'clock at night we arrived at Dr. Jonas C. Baldwin's, who has erected a dam across the river, cut a canal round the rift, and made two locks at this place. It is distant twelve miles from Three-River Point by water, and four by land. We were detained for a considerable time, before we could find our way into the mouth of the canal. The Doctor has laid out his village on Lot 85 Lysander, and called it Columbia. It is distant thirteen miles from Onondaga Court-house. There is a grist-mill and a saw-mill at this place.

Geddes had left us in the course of the day, and had walked home across the country. In his way he stopped here, and gave the Doctor notice of our approach, and luckily found his wife there on a visit. The family had sat up for us, but being tired out, had gone to bed, except a daughter, who had gone to a neighboring house which exhibited lights. We knocked the Doctor up, but the Commodore and one of the young gentlemen had gone to the house which was lighted, and being apprised of their mistake, returned over the bridge conducted by Miss Baldwin and her friend, and as the night was dark, they

were accompanied by lights. Their appearance at a distance was like that of mortals who had gone astray, returning into the right road guided by genii. Our reception here was very friendly. The hands of the *Morris* had refused to proceed from the cold spring, until Capt. Clark agreed to give them an extraordinary compensation. It appears that we had mollified ours, by giving them four dollars as footings, being a collection made by those who had never before passed the Oneida Lake and Oswego Falls. On the Doctor's chimney we saw excellent stone, brought from the head of Seneca Lake, which is deemed so handsome and valuable for chimney-pieces that a long piece has sold here for two dollars.

July 20th. The day being showery, we spent this day and night here. During an interval of fair weather, the Surveyor took the level of this part of the rift, and found the descent at the locks eight and a-half feet. The width of the river at the dam is about twenty-three rods, and below the dam a toll-bridge is nearly completed over the river. The length of the canal is 100 rods, the width twenty feet, and its depth six feet. There are two locks; the left one is six and a-half feet; the other, three and a-half feet. The length of the upper lock is eighty feet, and its breadth twelve and a-half. The length of the lower lock is eighty-five feet, and its breadth thirteen. The rapid, where the canal is located, is called McNarry's Rift, but it composes part of Jack's Rift. What renders it peculiarly bad is the rocky bottom, which defies the setting-pole. Jack's Rift extends ten miles above Columbia, and is very shallow and bad at the upper end. The canal and dam have been erected under a law of the State.

In November, 1809, there passed through the canal 65 vessels ; in December, 15 ; in April, 1810, 51 ; in May, 1810, 73 ; in June, 1810, 59. Several vessels pass over the dam in seasons when the water is high. The proprietor says that the whole establishment cost \$12,000 or \$13,000. The locks and canal probably did not exceed \$3,000.

The saw-mill in this place is owned by Burr, the celebrated bridge builder, who has a house here, and is concerned in the establishment. It is intended to have 23 saws. The tolls received here amounted—

In April last, to	.	.	.	\$115 49
In May “	.	.	.	167 91
In June “	.	.	.	141 40
				<hr/>
Total,	.	.	.	\$424 80

The Doctor keeps a small store. Several frames of houses are rising. Lots of half an acre each have been sold from \$50 to \$150. He lives in two or three log houses connected together, with monstrous chimneys, and two beds in a room.

The river was never so low ; the apron of the dam does not appear to be calculated to promote the passage of fish. No. 7 Camillus, is on the opposite side of the river, and belongs to the Company. A fine pit of potter's clay is at this place. We saw a plant called Indian strawberries, headed like the strawberry, and not good to eat. It looks like the flower called Prince's Feather.

The blackness of the Oneida lake, and the insalubrious quality of its waters, are owing to its being fed by streams originating in swamps. The other lakes, which are pure and transparent, are supplied by rivers which rise on hills.

Dr. Baldwin is of opinion that the blossom of the Oneida lake arises from wood.

July 21st.—Breakfasted at Columbia this day, and departed at seven o'clock. The family would receive no compensation, and behaved with great hospitality. The Doctor sent on board of our boat a saddle of fine lamb. Col. Porter left as a present with the young lady the "Dominican," a novel in two volumes, and the Commodore slipped into the hand of a little girl a bank bill. While here we amused ourselves in having a cockade made, and put in the commodore's hat, but as soon as he discovered it he pulled it out as a forbidden badge. The hands on board of the Morris evinced a mutinous spirit yesterday, and threatened to leave us, complaining that they were pushed too hard. On being treated with proper spirit, they took wisdom for their counsellor, and behaved well to-day.

The river maintained the same gloomy, dark appearance, with low sunken sides, as we progressed. The people were now taking in their wheat harvest, which was abundant. We saw a beautiful flower called an Indian Pink. We passed No. 8 Camillus, on the south side, belonging to me, about seven miles from Columbia. It corners just below a bridge intended to be built, and a ferry. Its situation on the river is low, and is what is called a narrow lot: that is, the narrowest part is on the river. Land on the opposite side, has sold for \$5 an acre.

We stopped in No. 35 Camillus, where there is a settlement made by one Simpson, and an Indian orchard of 40 old apple trees. On the right side, for a great distance, there are extensive groves of pine trees. We met a Dr. Adams crossing the river in a canoe, with his saddle-bags under his arm, and clothed in a dark home-spun gown, to

visit a patient. He describes the country as healthy, although he states that Baldwin's dam has raised the river six inches, at the distance above of eight miles. Mr. Geddes says that he saw a trout killed which had in its belly two field mice and a ground squirrel. Black is the color of squirrels in the western country ; you see few gray ones.

We dined in the woods, ten miles from Columbia, on the north side, and at the head of Cross Lake. Visiting an adjacent house, and seeing three lusty women at the wash-tub, none of whom was older than forty, we thought we would involve the commodore in a scrape, through the medium of his curiosity, and told him there was a woman at the house 100 years old, with gray eyebrows, and that her faculties were remarkably good. He immediately left the boat in a great hurry, and paced with uncommon rapidity through a hot sun, to the house, and inquired with great earnestness for a sight of the old woman. Instead of meeting the fate of Orpheus, he was received with laughter, and returned completely hoaxed.

Cross Lake is five miles long, and one broad ; in some places it is very deep, and in others contains large reeds and high grass. It abounds with ducks, and is formed by the passing of the Seneca river through a large swamp. We quartered at Wordworth's, a small log house, fourteen miles from Columbia, on the right side of the river, which is here twenty-four rods wide from Cross Lake, and near fifty feet deep. The insalubrious appearance of the country, and the heavy fogs on the river, added to the sickness of Captain Clark of the *Morris*, frightened me from taking a matrass with Col. Porter in his tent, although I knew that sleep could not be expected in the house. This place

is in the town of Cato, and in the military township of Brutus. There is scarcely any population on the river, owing to its unhealthiness. The settlements are back. Woodworth gave for his land four dollars an acre, four years ago, and his family have been afflicted with fever every year but the present. Three of us spread our mattresses on the floor; three slept in two beds in a little room, and three in the tent. In the common sitting room there were, besides, the family bed and a trunnel-bed for the children. We were not deceived in our expectations with regard to sleep. The crying of children, the hardness of the boards, the chirping of crickets, the flying of bats, clouds of mosquitoes, and a number of other nuisances, effectually prevented repose. We rose at four, and found that our medicinal prescriptions had rendered Capt. Clark much better.

July 22d.—The river being clouded with a thick, heavy fog, we thought it prudent to take breakfast before we moved.

Between Woodworth's and Musquito Point, there are three shallows, principally with rocky bottoms. One at the mouth of Skeneateles outlet, two miles from Woodworth's, one at Hickory island, five miles, and the other at Musquito Point, on the right side of the river. These shallows vary in depth from four to six feet. The mouth of Owasco outlet is nearly opposite Musquito Point. The Canada thistle is at Woodworth's; it is not so tall as the common thistle, and is spread over the country. There are several ferries on the river, and the farmers were busily engaged in their harvest.

The wind became favorable part of the way, and we arrived at Musquito Point, eight miles, at eleven o'clock

William Lyon keeps the tavern, which has a masonic sign, and appears to be a decent house. It is on thirty-seven Brutus, and two years ago he bought it of an uncle for seven dollars an acre. He thinks that Baldwin's dam has injured the salmon fishery. There is a good road from here to Oswego; the distance is thirty miles.

After leaving Musquito Point we encountered a baffling wind, and were compelled to drop our sails. We saw on the river the white and yellow lily in great beauty, together with the cat-tail and the wild eglantine on the bank. I had a sight of another red bird; the first, I saw on Wood Creek. There were also cranes and fish-hawks, but no bitterns.

About three-quarters of a mile from Musquito Point, there is a large island of 2,000 acres, on which are some military lots, in the township of Brutus. On a north-west bay, to the north of the island, and four miles from Musquito Point, are the Galen Salt Works, a Company incorporated at the last session of the Legislature. There is a salt-spring on Hickory Island, before-mentioned; and there are others on the north side, a mile and a half below the mouth of Skeneateles outlet, owned by S. N. Bayard, but whether worked or not, I am uninformed.

A squall took us in the bay, and we halted at Bluff Point, nearly opposite the Galen Salt Works, where there is a great turn in the river. Here is an old clearing, and the grass has been recently cut. The site is an elegant one for a house. Here we met a bare-headed man, shooting ducks for some sick people in Galen; he said that he had seen deer within an hour.

The Cayuga marshes commence at Bluff Point and extend to the Cayuga Lake, so as evidently to have formed

but one lake. In coming up to Seneca River, we saw, ten or twelve miles below, small pieces of the marshes, which had been carried down by a violent freshet some time before. The marshes are principally composed of grass, and they look like the salt-marshes on the seacoast, being overgrown with high grass, sometimes eight or ten feet high, in which were many wild ducks. The distance from Bluff Point (where high lands on each side of the river approach, and which may be considered as the eastern extremity of the original lake), to Montezuma, is four miles. The lake here has been filled up, and the marshes formed by depositions of mud, carried down the Seneca and Canandaigua Rivers. The bottom is muddy throughout, and the soundings averaged four feet. Mud Creek, which forms a junction with Canandaigua outlet, at Lyon's, comes into the Seneca a little below Montezuma, on the right side. When about a mile from Montezuma, a violent squall arose, and we had great difficulty in balancing the boat. We arrived at Montezuma at three o'clock, and put up at I. H. Terry's, physician and tavern-keeper, where we dined and lodged.

Montezuma is in No. 80 Brutus, in the town of Mentz, and is situated on a strip of land between the river and Cayuga marshes and marsh in the rear, and cannot therefore be healthy. It contains a few houses, which have sprung up in a short time. The hill furnishes a beautiful prospect of the marshes, and the Seneca and Canandaigua Rivers winding through them. A few scattering trees of willow and elm are to be seen. The whole was clearly a lake, choked up by alluvions. The channel of the river is said to be in the tract of the greenest grass. Dr. Clark, one of the present proprietors, formerly of New York, and

John Swartwout, the former proprietor, have handsome houses on this hill.

The salt works, and whole establishment, are owned by a company, of whom Mr. Andrews, a very fat man, formerly a tavern-keeper in Skeneateles, is the manager ; and his intelligence and activity qualify him for the trust. Gen. North and myself slept at his house, and were handsomely accommodated.

It takes from 80 to 100 gallons to make a bushel of Salt here. Near 2,000 barrels have been made since November last. Salt sells for three shillings a bushel, and twenty shillings a barrel, at the works. There are several springs. The principal one that supplies the establishment is in the middle of a fresh water creek. The salt water is extricated from below the waters of this stream.

The Indians had discovered a spring near the marshes, by digging twelve or fourteen feet, where they made salt. On the site of this old spring a well is now digging for the fossil salt, and has been sunk to the depth 102 feet. The lower they go the salter the water is found. This manufactory contains eighteen kettles and twelve pans ; each arch contains two kettles, and consumes a cord of wood in twenty-four hours. Excellent basket salt is also prepared here.

There is also a manufactory of red earthen ware ; four or five kilns have been burnt. Two men can burn one in forty days. The principal artizan gets four shillings for every dozen pieces he makes, which remunerates him for his labor about \$30 a-month, he however finding himself. The other hand is found, and his wages are \$10 a-month. A stone factory is also to be established here.

On an adjoining lot, No. 81 Brutus, there is a large

button-wood tree, entirely hollow, seventeen feet in diameter, and forty feet high. It is alive, is inhabited by swallows, and will contain twenty-five men. Dr. Mitchell is quoted for saying, on his visit here, that this is the largest tree in the world. Some years ago there was a ridiculous publication about the size of this tree, directed, "To all who disbelieved." This lot is valuable, and is claimed by one James Sacket. It is said to have been drawn by a foreigner, who, having no heirs, it has escheated to the State. Sacket is an itinerant hunter of claims, and boasts that he has made \$15,000 by it. There are several persons in possession ; and on his instituting suits against them they have all but one acknowledged his title. His object is to get the land cheap from the State under color of remuneration for improvements. Heard the whistling of quails for the first time in the western country.

July 23d. It rained all night, and the morning continuing so, we breakfasted before we departed. We were amused with a quarrel between the landlady and the Commodore, about his not giving a night's notice of his intention to breakfast, as she requested ; he had, indeed, sent word that he would not. In vain did he state that he could not foresee that the morning would be rainy. She was not to be appeased with this apology, and we took care to fan the flame.

The old bridge, called the Cayuga Bridge, was over the lake, and a mile long. Being carried away by ice, the present one is erected on the outlet, two miles from the former one. It is six miles from Montezuma to the new bridge. We had a view of the village of Cayuga, on the east side of the lake, and a settlement on the other side, where is Harris' Ferry.

The Cayuga Lake is a beautiful expanse of water, forty miles long, and in some places, as at Aurora, three wide. In passing the fresh marshes, I heard the noise of the meadow-hen, which, with the general appearance, reminded me of the salt meadows on the sea-coast.

We penetrated the Seneca River on the north-west corner of the lake, and found its course north. It is narrow and deep, and not more than four miles wide. It is four miles from the mouth of the river to Mynderse's Mills; one and a-half from the new Cayuga Bridge to the entrance of the river, and one and a-half miles from the entrance to a bridge over the river, on the route to Mynderse's Mills. We saw on the margin of the river a plant with a beautiful white flower, composed of a single long flower like a grain of wheat, and several smaller ones attached to it, its leaves being nearly triangular. It was called here a *polly-whog*. Quere—if at Newtown.

We could not but admire the benignity of Providence, when we beheld boneset (*Eupatorium perfoliatum*) scattered profusely over the unhealthy, fever-generating country which borders on this river. The like we observed on Wood Creek. Boneset, from its being a powerful sudorific, is considered as a sovereign remedy for agues and Fall fevers, and has been even recommended for the yellow fever.

We arrived at Mynderse's Mills, which are situated in Junius, Seneca county. The grist mills are celebrated for making the best flour in the State, and it sells for four shillings more per barrel in New York, than any other flour. This is principally owing to the superior excellence of the Seneca wheat. The mode of manufacturing flour is also superior; indeed, it would appear to be impossible to

make bad bread of it. Wherever it is used, we saw white nutritious bread. Here we saw a machine for cleaning the wheat of furze, before it is put in the hopper. Here is a dam across the river, and a bridge—a carding and fulling machine, and store. Our boat passed through a small aperture in the dam. The authority by which this has been effected, requires some explanation.

The falls at this place, called the Seneca Falls, are thirty feet, and extend a mile. The Seneca Lake is fifty feet higher than the Cayuga. Last session a petition was presented to the Legislature for leave to dam up and improve this river, by incorporating a company for the purpose, with power to cut canals round this rapid and the Schoys. This was a speculating scheme with a view to hydraulic works, and ought never to be granted.

At this place we were visited by Mr. Rees, Sheriff of Ontario county, and the Rev. Mr. Chapman, a Presbyterian clergyman of Geneva. We put up at Samuel Jack's tavern, where we dined and slept. Jack's sign is that of a field-piece. In his best room was suspended a certificate of his being a member of the Tammany Society of New York, and his house was liberally supplied with profiles of himself and family, cut in paper. I asked him what he followed in New York? He answered, he had been in the clothes line. The weather being rainy, we determined, as we found this house comfortable and the men civil, to stay here for the night. Indeed, several of us were indisposed with head-ache, and the commodore's had increased to a sick head-ache and vomiting. Our indisposition we imputed to the miasmatic exhalation of the lakes and Cayuga marshes.

Here we saw marine shells in flint stones, found on the

highest land between the lakes. Marble is supposed to be made of shells called Madreporae. The principal shell was the scallop.

We this day dismissed all our hands, and sent back the *Morris*. We hired a new set of hands to proceed with the *Eddy* to Geneva. We had no great reason to be displeased with the men of the *Eddy*, until we discovered in the morning that they had taken away our trumpet and part of the laths that supported the awning. The captain was civil and decent, but conceited. His name was on every house and lock on the route.

July 24th. We were all better, and the morning was cool and pleasant. We walked to the head of the Seneca Falls on a turnpike which passes Mynderse's, runs parallel with the Seneca turnpike, passes south of Salina, and joins the former turnpike near Manlius square.

Four Commissioners and the Surveyor embarked in the *Eddy*, at seven o'clock. Colonel Porter, the young gentlemen, and servants, went to Geneva by land. Our boat had been pushed over the falls by the new hands. The river was very low, and about three chains wide. Our men were good-natured, sagacious coopers from New England, who understood nothing about boating. Their names were Bellows, Cotton, Arnold, Rudd, and Resolved Waterman.

Schoy's Rapid is six miles from Mynderse's, and extends three-quarters of a mile. The fall is sixteen feet. There is a bridge over the river here. The ground on the left bank is laid out into a village, by one Baer, who married a niece of Governor Snyder, on a lot of 100 acres, purchased from the State, and part of No. 4 Romulus. Lots on one-quarter of an acre sell from \$45 to \$50. Here are

mills, a store, post-office, tavern, and a few houses. The distance by land or water to Geneva is seven miles.

It being a considerable rain, we stopped at Samuel W. Smith's tavern. He appeared to know us all. Smith's daughter had seen the commodore at Pleasant Valley, in Dutchess County. The family were decent. Smith is a freemason, and paid me particular attention. I discovered in his bar some violent Federal hand-bills, principally against me ; and as I took one of them in my hand, he was so disconcerted that he broke a decanter. In his garden I saw short corn, which comes to maturity in seven weeks. The corn, however, of the most rapid growth, is the Mandane from the Missouri. Quere—Gelston ?

My father owns No. 14 Romulus, adjoining the Schoy's lot, which is said to be worth at least \$14 per acre. A Dutchman from New Jersey, of the name of Van Riper, who was anxious to purchase this lot, was talking to me about it, and he recognized the commodore as a clerk in the factory at Patterson, to our great amusement and to his great mortification. We were told at Schoy's, that before the erection of Mynderse's and Baldwin's mill-dams, salmon was in considerable plenty, but that since, they have been scarce.

We left Schoy's at eleven o'clock, and walked to the head of the rapid where we again embarked. From this place to the Seneca Lake the river is one and a-half chains wide, and from eight to ten feet deep. The color is a cerulean or a beautiful sea-green. Until you arrive at Schoy's the country is well settled on both sides. Above it there is a prodigious swamp, and on the left side, four miles from Geneva, a large creek opens into the river. When we

arrived near the lake we left the boat, and after a delightful walk on its margin arrived at Geneva at two o'clock, and put up at Powell's Hotel, where we found our company that had proceeded by land.

Having now concluded our voyage, and intending to proceed from this place by land, it may not be amiss to look back and reflect upon the means which we took to guard against sickness during a voyage of twenty-one days, through the most insalubrious waters, exposed to the alternations of heat and rain, the miasmata of marshes, the exhalations of swamps, the fogs of rivers, the want of sleep, and frequently of good water.

In the first place, we were well provided with good victuals. Our appetites were generally good, and our principal drink was port wine, which was recommended to us by the senior Commissioner.

In the second place, we took medicines when we found ourselves indisposed. Dr. Hosack had provided us with James's Fever Powders, Elixir Proprietatis, Bark and Emetics; and we had got at Albany Lee's Anti-bilious Pills—pills recommended by Mr. G. Morris, and some mentioned by Ellicott, when he was a Commissioner to run the boundary line between the United States and the Floridas. He says in his journal that it was given to him by Dr. Rush, and that as long as his stock lasted he was free from fever, but as soon as he quit the use of it he was seriously attacked. The receipt is as follows: "Two grains of calomel with half a grain of gamboge, combined by a little soap." These pills we used liberally and found them very efficacious.

In the third place; although we passed through places where people were taken down with fever, and although

one of our captains was seriously sick, and from the aspect of the land and water it appeared to be impossible for a stranger to escape their deleterious influence, yet we maintained a uniform flow of good spirits. The song and the flute, the jest and *vive la bagatelle*, more than our most powerful medicines, were the best antidotes to sickness.

We here received a letter from M. and V. R., apologizing for leaving this place, and promising to meet us on the Niagara River. Jackson, the British Minister, passed through this village on the 19th.

The Yankee coopers who brought our boat from Myn-derse's, asked \$15 instead of \$10 for their services, which last was the usual and proper price. The commodore objected to the demand, but finally gave them \$12 50. He stated that they did not know how to row, and that they were continually running the boat zig-zag from one side of the river to the other. To which one of them immediately replied, that their object in so doing was to give the Commissioners the most ample opportunity of exploring and examining the river. The *Eddy* was here sold for \$30 without the sails.

The principal obstructions in the Seneca River are the Seneca Falls and the Schoy's Rapid. Towards the source there are some shallows. From the Schoy's to the lake it runs through a swamp. The distance between the lakes is in general fourteen miles. The narrowness of this and the Cayuga Lake renders the view of them different from that of the Oneida Lake, for in the latter, looking lengthways, you cannot see land. The Seneca Lake is forty miles long from north to south, and on an average three miles wide. It is a beautiful expanse of water, good to drink, of a sea-green color, warm in winter and cold in

summer, and never freezes. Delicious trout are caught in it, one weighed eighteen pounds; the most common weight is from three to five pounds. Its neighbor, the Cayuga Lake, far surpasses it in fish. The only outlet is the Seneca River, which is narrow at the point of exit. There is a bar at the mouth of the lake.

Geneva contains about one hundred houses, and its prosperity appears to be stationary, as no new ones are building. An Episcopalian and a Presbyterian Church, a Post-office, a printing-office, and a number of stores and mechanics' shops are here. It is delightfully situated on the north-west end of Seneca Lake. To the west of Geneva there is a natural marsh or meadow, also a great deal of low land to the north. On the east is the lake. One would think it to be unhealthy, but it is said not to be so. The woods around are cleared, and probably the meadows are drained. Lots here, consisting of three quarters of an acre with a front of twenty rods, sell for about two hundred dollars—on the main street, from four to five hundred dollars.

Geneva is in the town of Seneca, which turns out five hundred votes. The leading republicans are Septimus Evans, Supervisor and Member of Assembly; Dr. Goodwin, and Mr. Dox, a merchant, originally from Albany. The town is republican, notwithstanding a federal paper, called the *Geneva Gazette*, is published here every Wednesday, by James Bogert.

Powell's Hotel was built by Capt. Charles Williamson, the agent of the Pulteney estate, who also laid out the south part of this village. It is a very large and expensive wooden building, and has, besides an ice-house and the other appendages of a great establishment, a descending

hanging-garden on the side of the lake. The fruit-trees, particularly the peach, apricot, and plum, look remarkably vigorous and healthy. The *Alta Frutex*, *Syringa*, Moss Locust, Persian Lilac, Jessamine, etc., and a number of other shrubs, are also in fine order. Grapes appear to do well. The peaches this year blossomed in February, and through the whole western country have been destroyed by a frost.

Capt. Williamson was a great benefactor to this country, although not to the Pulteney estate. No man has contributed more to the population, the wealth, and the general improvement of this country than he. He expended, by drafts on his employers, £600,000. In order to keep up the price of lands he frequently purchased them at a high rate. He was a gentleman, a man of honor and intelligence. He is now no more.

Phelps and Gorham gave for the Massachusetts land, two or three cents an acre. Not being able to make good their payments, they surrendered the country west of the Genesee river, to their grantors, and R. Morris gave for it one shilling per acre. The value is now incalculable.

July 25th.—We left Geneva to view the confluence of Mud Creek and the Canandaigua outlet, at Lyons. We traveled in two wagons, and sent our baggage and two of our servants to Canandaigua by the usual route. About two miles from Geneva we passed a place once famous as an Indian castle, and called Canadusaga. This was destroyed by Sullivan's army, together with an old Indian orchard, which has now grown up and is flourishing, and which, if not destroyed, would have been useless, on account of the age of the trees. There is an Indian mound or barrow for interring the dead at this place.

The country is well settled, fertile, and abounding in wheat, which is now gathering. We halted at T. Oaks' tavern, in Phelpsstown, near which is a Presbyterian church, six miles from Geneva. Here, according to appointment, we conferred with Jonathan Melvin, a plain, illiterate farmer, respecting a route projected by him, from Galen salt works on the Seneca river, to Port Bay, on Lake Ontario. He has property on Port Bay, and says, that he has examined the route personally. The result of his information, reduced to writing on the spot, is as follows, to wit:—

Half a mile above Galen Salt Works, Crusoe Creek empties into Seneca river, opposite Bluff point; from thence to Crusoe Lake, dead water, navigable by a Durham boat. From the outlet to the head of the lake, one and a half or two miles; from the head of the lake to the inlet of Port Bay, three miles through a swamp; down the said inlet four and a half miles, to the great falls, which are forty feet perpendicular; from thence to where the waters are dead, and seven or eight feet deep, one mile and a half; from thence to the head of the bay, one mile and a half; a bar at the entrance of the bay may be removed; thence to the outlet of the bay, one mile and a half; the bay a mile wide, the outlet three-quarters of a mile wide; the whole distance eighteen miles.

July 25th, continued.—We proceeded to Lyons, ten miles north, through a violent shower, having left the commodore, who accompanied Mr. Reese, in his chair, at Oaks' tavern. This village is near the confluence of Mud Creek and Canandaigua outlet; the latter contains four times as much water as the first, and both together are about as large as the Mohawk. This village was laid out by Captain Williamson, and contains two taverns and

twenty or thirty houses, principally occupied by Methodists. Lots of a quarter of an acre sell for forty or fifty dollars. After viewing the rivers, we dined here and returned.

On our return, a mile from Lyons, and a mile from the road in a thick wood, we stopped to see a camp-meeting of Methodists. The ground was somewhat elevated; the woods were cleared, and a circle was made capable of containing several thousands. The circle was formed of wooden cabins, tents, covered wagons, and other vehicles. At one end of the circle a rostrum was erected, capable of containing several persons, and below the rostrum or pulpit, was an orchestra fenced in. We arrived at this place before the meeting was opened, and we found it excessively damp and disagreeable, from the heavy rains. Here, eating and drinking was going on; there, people were drying themselves by a fire. In one place, a man had a crowd around him, to listen to his psalm singing; in another, a person was vociferating his prayer. And again, a person had his arm around the neck of another, looking him full in the face, and admonishing him of the necessity of repentance; and the poor object of his solicitude, listening to his exhortations with tear-suffused eyes. At length four preachers ascended the pulpit, and the orchestra was filled with forty more. The people, about two hundred in number, were called together by a trumpet, the women took the left and the men the right hand of the ministers. A good-looking man opened the service with prayer, during which groans followed every part of his orisons, decidedly emphatical. After prayer he commenced a sermon, the object of which was to prove the utility of preaching up the terrors of hell, as necessary to

arrest the attention of the audience to the arguments of the ministers. And this was undoubtedly intended as a prelude to terrific discourses. Capt. Dorsey, who was a member of the Assembly last session, and who is a devout Methodist, was kind enough to show us seats, and to invite us to breakfast in the morning, at his house; but the dampness of the place, and the approach of night, compelled us to depart before the sermon was completed, which we did singly, so as to avoid any interruption. We were mortified at the conduct of our drivers in turning the carriages, so as to draw off the attention of the people from the sermon. We sent an apology for it to Capt. Dorsey, they were expressly directed to do this on our arrival. As far as we could hear, the voice of the preacher, growing louder and louder, reached our ears as we departed, and we met crowds of people going to the sermon. On the margin of the road, we saw persons with cakes, beer, and other refreshments for sale.

We returned to Oaks' tavern, where we slept. The commodore had proceeded with Mr. Reese after dinner, and we did not meet him. In the course of the evening the Surveyor-General mentioned the singular death of the Rev. Mr. Hartman some years ago. He was a Lutheran minister, far advanced in life. He took passage from New York for Clermont, and the wind being adverse part of the way, he became very uneasy. On his arrival at the place of destination, he told Mrs. Livingston, the chancellor's mother, that he had come to lay his old bones there, and expressed great anxiety to have his will written, as he was to die the next day at 12 o'clock at night. The chancellor wrote his will; he appeared to be composed, and in his usual state of health. The family considered

his prediction a whim, but appointed a person to watch him. When the clock struck twelve he expired.

July 26th. We departed at five o'clock in the morning for the Sulphur Springs, in Farmington, six miles distant, where we found the commodore and Mr. Reese. We breakfasted here, in a handsome house.

We passed through the principal part of Farmington, a republican town. The first settler here was from Vermont, who brought with him a four-pound cannon, which he had taken from the British during the war. A number of Marylanders are settled here, as may be seen from their large crops of corn and tobacco. An emigrant from Fredericks county says, that the land here does not produce more than there, but that his inducements to remove were his large family, and the cheapness of the land. The country from Oaks' to the Springs is thickly settled, and covered with wheat, which yields twenty-five bushels an acre. Four parallel roads run in this direction, which are full of people, and one of them is a turnpike.

As you approach the Springs, the smell of sulphur reminds you of the Stygian lake, of the heathen mythology. There are two springs, a quarter-of-a-mile distant. The water is very cold, and a considerable stream runs from the principal spring. You see sulphur in its virgin state lying around, with concretions of stone formed by it, and gypsum mingled with the sulphur, forming in some places beds, into which you can penetrate a pole of five feet. There is a bathing-house adjacent to the spring, for the accommodation of invalids. It is supposed that there is some arsenic in the waters. Having before seen a sulphur spring at Cherry Valley, my curiosity was not much excited.

The road is populous and thickly settled to Canandaigua, the County town, in which all the roads in the country center, as radii from a common center. It is nearly the center of territory, as well as of population.

Half-a-mile north of the village we perceived the remains of an old fortification. A mound of earth two feet high runs round two acres, and, as far as I could judge, it is nearly of an elliptical form. A ditch surrounds the whole ; there were the appearances of two gates or entrances, on the north and south side. The ditch is nearly filled and narrow ; part of the ground has been ploughed. On the side of the ditch and in the fort there are oaks upwards of 150 years old. This work is on the highest ground in its vicinity. There are two others near the village. Munro attributes these and similar works to the French, but he is unquestionably mistaken.

We reached Canandaigua at twelve o'clock, and put up at Taylor's hotel ; an indifferent house. This village is pleasantly situated at the north end of Canandaigua Lake, a fine body of water, eighteen miles long, and from one to two miles wide. There are more fish in it than in Seneca Lake. A trout weighing twenty-eight pounds has been caught in it, which had in its belly a whole fish of two pounds weight. There are here a Court-house, Jail, Academy, Post-office, two printing-presses, and about one hundred and fifty houses. The main street strikes the outlet of the lake at right angles, and has a great many elegant houses. The Academy is not painted, and appears to be in a decaying situation, although it is endowed with property to the value of \$20,000. This is a place of great business, and the society is agreeable. The lots were so laid out in the main street, as to contain origin-

ally forty acres in the rear. A very handsome house and five acres, on a commanding situation in this street, were sold lately for \$4,000. There are eleven lawyers here. The Indians had considerable settlements in this place, when Sullivan's army passed through and destroyed them. The mill-dams near the outlet render the lower part of the village unhealthy. Butter here sells for one shilling per pound; the best beef, five cents; common beef and mutton, four cents.

A plain coachee with leather curtains, belonging to Jemima Wilkinson, or the Friend, as she is called, was here for repairs at the coach-maker's. On the back of it are inscribed in large letters, V^{*}+F, and a star on each side. She resides with thirty or forty followers at Crooked Lake, in this county. She is opposed to war, to oaths, and to marriage; and to her confidential friends she represents herself as Jesus Christ personified in the body of Jemima Wilkinson.

I saw Judge Atwater, Mr. Phelps, Mercer, and other respectable Republicans, and I gladly availed myself of a polite invitation of J. C. Spencer to take a bed at his house, having first rode with him in his chaise through the village and its vicinity.

July 27th. Young Eddy being indisposed with fever, the other two young gentlemen agreed to stay with him, and join us at Buffalo. We hired two wagons for the conveyance of five commissioners, a surveyor, and two servants; one servant rode on horseback, and we had a baggage-wagon besides. The commodore left us with an intention of joining us in the evening, after visiting some Quakers. At Col. Porter's request, we stopped at Col. Norton's, in Bloomfield, six miles from Canandaigua. A

genteel house and family, but the proprietor being absent our visit was short.

We dined on our own provisions at Dryer's tavern, in Bloomfield. The country so far was very populous, fertile, and delightful, particularly that part of it called Broughton Hill, an elevated portion, affording an extensive prospect. After leaving Dryer's inn, the country changes for the worse. There is no underwood, and the predominant timber is oak. We crossed Gerundigut Creek at Mann's mills, where Mr. Geddes proposes a great embankment for his canal, from the Genesee River to the head waters of Mud Creek. He crosses Gerundigut Creek here, in order to attain the greatest elevation of ground on the other side. Adjacent to this place were indications of iron ore and red ochre, which often accompany each other.

We arrived at Perrin's tavern, in the town of Boyle, twenty-one miles from Canandaigua, four and a-half from Gerundigut or Irondequot landing, and fourteen from Charleston. A vessel of thirty tons cargo comes to the head of this landing. The sign of the tavern contains masonic emblems, and is by S. Felt & Co. Felt is a man in the employ of the landlord, and the object of this marked sign is, as the landlord says, to prevent his debtors from seizing the house. Perrin is a violent Federalist. He behaved to me with great civility, conversed about masonry, and presented me with a masonic sermon. We drew lots for the choice of beds; and it turning out in my favor, I chose the worst bed in the house. I was unable to sleep on account of the fleas. At this place we ate the celebrated white fish salted. It is better than shad, and cost at Irondequot landing \$12 per barrel.

July 28th. We departed from here at seven o'clock, after breakfast, and after a ride of eight and a half miles arrived at a ford of the Genesee river, about twelve miles from the Great Falls, and seven and a half miles from Lake Ontario. This ford is one rock of limestone. Just below it there is a fall of fourteen feet. An excellent bridge of uncommon strength is now erecting at this place. We took a view of the upper and lower falls. The first is ninety-seven and the other seventy-five feet. The banks on each side are higher than the falls, and appear to be composed of slate, cut principally of red free-stone. The descent of the water is perpendicular. The view is grand, considering the elevation of the bank and the smallness of the cataract or sheet of water.

From the ford to the lake is seven and a half miles; from the great falls to the lake, seven miles; from the great to the lower falls, one mile and a half; from the lower falls to Hanford's tavern, where we put up, one mile and a half; from Hanford's to Charlottesburgh, on the lake, four miles. There is a good sloop navigation to the lower falls.

These falls, as also those of Niagara, and perhaps of Oswego, are made by the same ridge or slope of land. The Genesee river, in former times, may have been dammed up at these falls, and have formed a vast lake, covering all the Genesee Flats, forty miles up. The navigation above the ford is good for small boats to the Canaseraga Creek, and ten miles above it, making altogether fifty miles.

We dined and slept at Hanford's tavern; he is also a merchant, and carries on considerable trade with Canada. There is a great trade between this country and Montreal,

in staves, potash, and flour. I was informed by Mr. Hopkins, the officer of the customs here, that 1000 barrels of flour, 1000 ditto of pork, 1000 ditto of potash, and upwards of 100,000 staves had been already sent this season from here to Montreal; that staves now sold there for \$140 per thousand, and had at one time brought \$400 that the expense of transporting 1000 staves from this place to Montreal is from \$85 to \$90; across the lake, from \$45 to \$50; of a barrel of potash to Montreal, twenty shillings; of pork, sixteen shillings; of flour, ten shillings; but that the cheapness of this article is owing to a competition, and is temporary. A ton of goods can be transported from Canandaigua to Utica, by land, for twenty shillings.

Notwithstanding the rain, we visited in the afternoon the mouth of the river. On the left bank a village has been laid out by Colonel Troup, the agent of the Pulteney estate, and called Charlottesburgh, in compliment to his daughter. He has divided the land into one acre lots. Each lot is sold at ten dollars per acre, on condition that the purchaser erects a house in a year. This place is in the town of Genesee. The harbour here is good. The bar at the mouth varies from eight to eight and a-half feet, and the channel is generally eleven feet. There were four lake vessels in it. We had an opportunity of seeing the lake in a storm, and it perfectly resembled its parent, the ocean, in the agitation, the roaring, and the violence of its waves.

The commodore overtook us at the ford, and subdued a severe sick head-ache by strong potations of tea.

July 29th, Sunday. We set off at six o'clock, and breakfasted at Davis's tavern, in Parma, nine miles from

the place of our departure. Our baggage wagon contained our provisions, on which we generally fared. Davis lives on the Pulteney lands, in a two-story log house. He has been here four years, and gave three dollars an acre on a credit of five years.

Shortly after leaving the Genesee river, we entered a remarkable road called the Ridge Road, extending from that river to Lewiston, seventy-eight miles. The general elevation of the ridge is from ten to thirty feet, and its width varies. Sometimes it is not more than fifteen or twenty yards, and its general distance from Lake Ontario is ten miles; at Davis's it is nine miles. This ridge runs from east to west. About from three to half a-mile south, and parallel with this ridge, there is a slope or terrace, elevated 200 feet more than the ridge, with a limestone top, and the base freestone. The indications on the ridge show that it was originally the bank of the lake. The rotundity of the stones, the gravel, &c., all demonstrate the agitation of the waters. When the country between it and the lake is cleared, it will furnish a charming view of that great body of water.

We saw along the road great quantities of ginseng, a beautiful convolvulus, or vine, with a delicate jessamine-like flower, which General N. has naturalized in his garden. Wherever there have been clearings in the wood, by the agency of fire, we saw the weed called fire-weed, which is always to be seen in such situations, and is made use of as an argument in favor of spontaneous or equivocal vegetation.

I saw for the third time the beautiful red-bird, before mentioned. He derives, from the singular redness of his plumage, the appellation of the Cardinal Bird. We also

saw numbers of robins, blue birds, blue jays, three kinds of wood-peckers and hawks, and a great number of black-birds. We also observed that all the squirrels we met with were black, which is the case all over the western country.

Our ride to Davis's was unpleasant. It had rained all night, and this morning for two hours. The day, however, became pleasant. In this sequestered spot we had the satisfaction of seeing a bower, where forty persons had assembled to celebrate the birth-day of our nation. And this pleasure would have been more lively if we had not perceived a great number of electioneering hand-bills.

Land on this road is excellent, and is clothed with valuable and heavy timber. It produces in wheat, twenty-five bushels an acre, and corn in the same ratio. It sells on the road for five dollars per acre, and is but thinly settled.

We rode seven miles to dinner, and dined on cold ham. The house was kept by R. Abby, justice, tavern-keeper, and proprietor of a saw-mill. His only library was a *Conductor Generalis*; and a crowd of drunken people were collected about the house. In excuse for the justice, it might be remarked, that he was not at home; he was met on the road by some of our company, and expressed an intention of calling upon me at our lodgings, in the evening, of which pleasure we were, however, deprived. His house is on the tract of land called the Triangle, in the town of Murray. About a mile and a half from here, we saw a man who had been settled two years in this country, and who had purchased 300 acres for \$600. About three miles west of Abbey's, there is a fine nur-

sery of young apple-trees and a good orchard. The land in this town sells for five dollars an acre, on the road ; back of the road it is sold for four.

We met to-day a man going to Charlottesburgh, on the Genesee River, with two barrels of potash, drawn by two oxen in a cart. He must have gone twenty-six miles to market. Potash works are numerous over the coast, and appear to be the great resource of the people for raising money. We observed a man reaping wheat to-day, and others patrolling the woods with guns, so that Sunday does not appear to be held in high veneration. Natural meadows were frequent on both sides of the ridge. The wheat was good, and the corn bad. The frost, which happened on the night we lodged at Van Valkenburgh's tavern, on the Oswego River, appears to have affected corn-fields partially, from here to Canandaigua, as if it had proceeded like a current of cold air, avoiding the highlands, and scattering devastation among the corn on low grounds.

The driver of our baggage-wagon is named Finch, and is a fugitive from Vermont. He commanded the mammoth raft that escaped from Lake Champlain during the embargo, and got it safe to Quebec, where he would have realized a handsome fortune, had it not been swept away and totally destroyed by an extraordinary flood. It was owned by seventeen people ; he was before worth \$6,000. Being ruined by the failure of this enterprise, he now relies upon his team and industry for subsistence, and appears to be a civil, sober, industrious, and intelligent fellow.

Six miles from Abbey's we put up for the night at Matteson's tavern, an open log house, in the town of Murray, where we suffered the want of sleep, and encountered every other privation. Two slept in the garret, three on

the floor on mattresses, and I thought myself happy in putting mine on a wooden chest, where I avoided the attacks of kittens. The night was very damp and rainy—the musquitoes abundant; and we were serenaded by the jingling of cow-bells, and the screaming of drunken clowns.

July 30th, Monday. We left this disagreeable place at half-past five, and after a ride of four hours through a wilderness, we arrived at one Downer's, a private house, and nine and a half miles from where we slept. Downer emigrated from Vermont two years ago, and purchased this farm, which is in the town of Batavia, for eighteen shillings per acre. It is twenty miles from the village of Batavia, eight miles from lake Ontario, and by measurement, thirty-two and a half from the Genesee ford, where the bridge is erecting. Here we partook of a comfortable breakfast on our own provisions, assisted by the cheerful hospitality of our talkative landlady, who informed us that they had, in a time of scarcity, been obliged to give twenty shillings per bushel for Indian meal.

The rain discontinuing, we proceeded to Sibley's tavern, fifteen miles from Matteson's, twenty-five from Batavia, and eight from the lake. Here we halted awhile. The land along this route has been sold by the Holland Land Company for from eighteen to twenty shillings per acre. The Ridge Road was laid out by their agents about two years since, and may be considered as a great natural turn-pike. In imagination, one might suppose that this ridge was a great road, created some thousand years ago, by the powerful emperor of a populous State, to connect the lakes with the interior country; or, like the wall of China, a great breastwork, erected by a mighty State, to protect the country against incursions from the lakes. Such as it

is, the lashing of the waves of the lakes has spread this ridge with gravel; and if the stumps of the trees are eradicated, and the cavities filled up, it may be made the best road in the United States—the expense of which will not exceed \$200 per acre. It is twenty feet wide, but intended to be five rods. The Company have laid out their land in farms of 160 acres, twenty chains fronting the road, and 100 back, and they are now worth, in this situation, four dollars per acre.

Mr. Sibley says that there is a gentle descent from here to the lake, and he can give no account of a ridge or slope between this place and Batavia. Can there be a break in the slope here?

About nine miles south-west of Sibley's there are salt-springs, worked by Mr. Ellicott, the agent of the Holland Land Company. A considerable deal is made, and salt is sold for a dollar a bushel. Eighteen miles from here, on the Triangle, and north of the road, salt is also manufactured, by Mr. Stoddert. Perhaps a range of salt springs, arising from a mine of fossil salt, may be traced from Salina to Kentucky, and from thence to Louisiana.

From Sibley's we proceeded to the Oak-Orchard, three miles. It is a great plain, of six miles in extent, from east to west, covered by oak-trees, with little or no underwood. Through it the road is much improved. Oak-Orchard Creek runs through here; the banks are fifty feet steep. Five miles up the creek, there is a fall of thirty feet, which must be made by the upper ridge or slope. We could not learn the condition of the stream above the falls. There is a bar at the mouth, about knee deep in dry seasons. In the Spring and Fall, boats can ascend this creek twelve miles. For three miles above the bar, it is very deep. At

the mouth it is about thirty feet wide, and then widens for the three miles, from thirty to forty rods. If the bar could be removed, it would form an excellent harbor. Salmon, muscalunga, and other fish, run up it. Any number of mills may be erected on this stream, which is the only one in this country that will work a mill in all seasons. The people here have to go forty miles, to Stoddert's mill, in this dry season, which certainly reflects no honor on the Holland Land Company. Before Ellicott's salt-works were erected, which are five miles up the creek, Onondaga salt sold here for five dollars a bushel. On the margin of the creek we found excellent wild onions; wild leeks are also in the woods.

We dined at one Johnson's, a private house, five and a-half miles from Sibley's, and three from Ellicott's salt works. It is a perfect wilderness from here to Sibley's. Johnson settled here in the spring, and gave three and a-half dollars per acre. There was another family here, and the father of it has languished with fever and ague the whole season without making an effort to relieve himself. Our commodore, like the Good Samaritan, left some medicines to meet his case.

We proceeded seven and a-half miles from here to Stuart's tavern, in the town of Cambria, in Niagara County, where we lodged, making in the whole twenty-seven miles this day's journey. We had intended to stay at a tavern two miles back, but were prevented by a person languishing with fever, who represented himself to be a physician from Peekskill, of the name of Robert Thompson Owens, the son of a farmer and on his way to New Orleans. I slept in company with the commodore, under Col. Porter's tent or sail, and made out extremely well.

July 31. Tuesday. The people at Stuart's have migrated from Washington county, and are decent and well-behaved. There is an abundance of bears in this country; one of our servants saw one near the house. We breakfasted here, and on our departure the landlord missed his razor strop, when it appeared that the commodore, after shaving himself, had put it up accidentally in his trunk. The commodore's mistake afforded considerable merriment, in which he heartily participated.

We halted at Brown's tavern, three miles from Stuart's, seven miles from the great slope, and seven from the lake. Six years ago Brown gave fourteen shillings per acre for this farm. He says he would not sell it now for ten dollars.

We travelled ten miles on the Ridge Road without seeing but a very few houses. Here, to our great mortification, a heavy rain came on, and we found an interruption of the road on the ridge. For four miles we travelled through the worst road we ever encountered, it being off the ridge, and about two miles from each other passed two considerable streams, branches of the Eighteen Mile Creek. About a mile from Forsyth's tavern we regained the ridge road; and just before we arrived there, which was at two o'clock, the road from Batavia to Lewiston joins the Ridge Road, and from this place to the latter the travelling is good.

Forsyth keeps a good house; we dined here. He lives fourteen miles from Stuart's, seven from the lake, fifteen from Lewiston, thirty-five from Batavia, and sixty-two and a-half from the Genesee river. So that the Ridge Road, when completed, which it is intended to do, will be seventy-seven and a-half miles long. Forsyth gave for

his land twenty-two shillings per acre, five years ago, and being an intelligent man and an old settler, was asked his opinion as to the formation of this ridge. He is of the decided opinion that it was the bank of a lake, and besides assigning the reason before-mentioned to support his opinion, he stated the following facts :

1st. That the fish-banks, being heaps of gravel before-mentioned, and commonly called *bass-banks*, are, on digging, found in a complete state at the foot of the ridge.

2nd. That all streams which enter the lake from the east have their mouths filled up with sand in a particular way, arising from the prevalence and power of the westerly winds, and that the points of the creek which break through this ridge correspond precisely with the entrance of the streams into the lakes.

The road from Forsyth's is excellent, and through a thick settled country. We stopped at Howell's Tavern, ten miles from Lewiston, where we saw the *Columbian*. Land here sells for three dollars per acre. At this place we were told that in digging a well twenty-six feet, strata of different kinds were penetrated, and among others, one of lake sand and another of gravel. In digging a dam for a saw mill, several lake shells were found at the depth of four feet. As shells and bones are only preserved in clay and are destroyed in sand, it is no evidence that the lake has not overflowed a country if no shells can be found in particular situations.

Lake Ontario (which was originally called by the English Cadarackin), must have been dammed up at its entrance, and on its bursting a pass, assisted probably by an earthquake, the terrible rupture must have created the

Thousand Isles. The lake would then recede from its ancient boundaries.

After leaving Howell's Tavern, we turned from the Ridge Road and ascended the great slope which approaches it here. The bottom of it is composed of a ledge of limestone, and its elevation is two hundred feet. On this hill we had a sublime view of immense forests towards the lake, like one prodigious carpet of green, and a distant glimpse of the great expanse of waters.

Three miles from Lewiston we passed through a village of Tuscarora Indians, containing 300 souls. Their territory consists of three miles square—one given them by the Senecas, and two by the Holland Company. They follow agriculture and keep a number of hogs and neat cattle. They also plant corn and cultivate wheat, which looks poor. I saw a chief with a cross on his back. When Jackson was at Queenstown, they were sent for to play ball for his amusement. They frequently visit the British and receive presents.

We put up at a tavern kept in Lewiston, by T. Hurtler, an old sergeant in the army. The Surveyor General and I slept at Mr. Barton's, one of the house of Porter, Barton & Co., where we were kindly accommodated.

Lewiston contains but a few houses. It is within the State reservation of a mile, on the east side of the Niagara reservation, and is laid out into a town by the State. The portage round the Falls commences here, and is eight miles on the American, and ten on the British side. The portage has been leased from the State by Porter, Barton & Co., and the principal article conveyed is salt; three yoke of oxen can carry twelve barrels of salt, and make one trip a day. There are twenty-two teams of various kinds

employed in this portage. The distance from here to the Falls is seven miles ; to the outlet of the river into Lake Ontario, seven and a half miles. A vessel will float this distance by the current in three hours. The whole length of Niagara river, or rather the distance from lake to lake, is thirty miles. There is a ferry between this place and Queenstown, and the width of the river is one quarter of a mile.

Mr. Barton is building an elegant stone house, on a commanding situation. At his house I saw a large horned owl, with the head like a cat, and with talons. He had committed great trespasses on the poultry, biting off their heads and sucking their blood ; he was shot on the poultry-house.

August 1st, Wednesday. The brig Ontario, of ninety tons, belonging to Porter, Barton & Co., being on her way to Oswego, we took our departure in her about ten o'clock, on a visit to Fort Niagara, having previously apprised the officers of the garrison of our intention. This is a handsome vessel, cost \$5,000, can carry 420 barrels of salt, and is navigated by a captain and seven men. The monthly wages of a sailor is \$20. We saw six British and American vessels, five of which were square-rigged, ascend the river at the same time. The business transacted here is principally on the American side, and is the transportation of salt. There are two merchants and a lawyer in this village ; also a spacious warehouse, and a good wharf belonging to this company : the road to the wharf is down a steep hill, and is badly contrived, as only one team can load at a time. The color of the river is a beautiful sea-green, and its depth from 40 to 100 feet ; the current descends at the rate of three miles an hour. The

banks of the river are steep, and principally formed of a stone, composed of indurated red clay, which is friable on exposure to heat or frost. About two years ago, the ice accumulated some two miles below Lewiston, to the elevation of seventy feet, from bank to bank, and created a rise of water above, which swept away with the besom of destruction every thing between the banks of Lewiston and Queenstown.

We landed at the Fort from the brig, which hauled close up to the dock, and were received with a national salute, and other military honors. Capt. Leonard and Dr. West and families reside here, and Lieut. Gansevoort, a single man. The garrison consists of an artillery company. We dined with the commanding officer, in the large stone house, which is 105 by 47 feet. It is in itself a complete fortification—has a well, prisons, and only one door. It had iron window shutters, which were taken away by the British, when they surrendered the Fort, under Jay's treaty. There are marks of shot in the rafters from a six-pounder, and which were fired at the siege under Sir Wm. Johnson. It is said that the French asked permission of the Indians to build a trading-house, and that they erected surreptitiously this work ; it is further stated that the stone were brought from Fort Fontenac. Considering the distance, and the monstrous mass of stones, one would think this impossible. As the stones about the windows are different, and more handsome than those which compose the building, the probability is, that the former only were brought from Fort Fontenac, and that the latter are the common stones of the country. Niagara Fort is in a ruinous condition. There are two block-houses at the east and west end ; and an old stone house, which was

built by the French, constitutes the magazine. The only pleasant thing to the feelings of an American are the new barracks which are building.

The bar of the Niagara River at its entrance into the lake is twelve feet. From the north room in which we dined, we had a superb view of the lake. We understood here, that Gen. Dearborn, the late Secretary of War, had represented as an excuse for not erecting a fort at Black Rock, that the State had asked twelve dollars per acre for the ground—an assertion totally destitute of truth.

We returned *via* Newark in our carriages, which we had sent to that place for the purpose. The river here is about thirty chains wide. It was formerly the seat of government of Upper Canada, which has been transferred to York, and Newark is now called Niagara. It contains about eighty houses, a court-house, and two churches.

As we walked through the town we saw a dozen people, whom we were told were the principal men of the place, looking at us. Some years ago I got acquainted with Dr. Ker, Deputy Grand-Master of Upper Canada, whom I was told resides in this place, and intended to pay me particular attention if he saw me. The British fort is a little farther up than ours, and is said to be fourteen feet higher. Its condition is not much superior; it is under the command of a Major. Jackson was received at this place with military honors, and complimented with a ball.

I observed an uncommon number of musquito hawks flying over the plains adjacent to this town; they are certainly different from whip-poor-wills. They were in pursuit of insects, and their cry was *squah*, in a sharp note.

The road from Niagara to Queenstown is pleasant and well-cultivated, and the country has plenty of young or-

chards of apple and peach trees. I am told, however, that improvements are stationary, and that the country does not look better than it did eleven years ago. The difference between the American and British side, in every attribute of individual and natural improvement, must strike the most superficial eye. It is flattering to our national pride, and to the cause of republican government; indeed, Mr. Morris insinuated that Jackson recognized it with no little spleen.

The politics of Upper Canada are tempestuous. A great majority of the people prefer the American government, and on the firing of the first gun would unite their destinies with ours. The Irish and emigrants from the United States are opposed to the Scotch, who have monopolized the government. There are two newspapers printed in the province. The editor of one is an Irishman of the name of Willcocks, whose paper is called the *Guardian*. It is printed at Niagara, has an extensive circulation in Canada, and a limited one in this State. He is bold, but not possessed of great talents. He leads the opposition, and is a member of their parliament as it is styled, and has been prosecuted by the Government. Jackson sent for him and was closeted some hours with him. He complains bitterly of the abuses of government, particularly in exacting oppressive fees. The other press supports the Government.

Queenstown contains about forty houses. I saw two square-rigged vessels taking in salt. It does but little business, when compared with its opposite rival. Eighteen thousand barrels of salt were conveyed by the portage at Lewiston last year, and but four thousand on this side. We crossed the ferry at Queenstown, which affords a cu-

rious phenomenon. An eddy runs up on each side, and facilitates a passage against a very impetuous current in the center of the river. In passing the river here, we had a full view of the great ridge, which passes to the banks of the river on the American side, is interrupted by the river, and is renewed on the British side, bending off towards the west, and running to the north end of Lake Ontario. The large rocks where the break of the great ridge opens, and the whole aspect of the water and the surrounding country, evidently show that this was the ancient seat of the Great Cataract.

We again availed ourselves of the hospitality of Mr. Barton.

August 2d, Thursday. Messrs. Morris and Van Rensselaer arrived here from Chippeway, and after breakfast at Mr. Barton's, we all proceeded to a village near the Falls of Niagara, along the carrying road where Judge Porter resides.

On the top of the slope at Lewiston, we observed the old way in which the French drew up their goods. A crane was fixed on the hill, and an inclined plane down the descent in which sleighs were fixed, and as goods were conveyed up in one sleigh, others were let down in another.

After two miles we saw the Devil's Hole, which is a monstrous chasm or ravine, close to the road, and is 150 feet deep, where the hill is upwards of 300 feet perpendicular above the center of the river. It is formed by a small creek, called Bloody Run, precipitating itself into the bank. This name is derived from this circumstance: After the capture of Niagara by Sir William Johnson, an escort of thirty English with wagons were driven down

the precipice by an ambuscade of French and Indians, and all killed except two—one who broke through the enemy, and the other who was caught by a tree in his descent, and although miserably wounded, is yet alive and tells the story.

Two miles from this place, we saw, from Major Brother's house, the whirlpool, which exhibits the power of water in the most astonishing manner. When the largest trees of the forest are caught in the vortex of this fresh water maelstrom, such is the fury of its vertiginous motion, that they are whirled round with inconceivable velocity, and after being precipitated into the great abyss of waters, and lost to the eye for a considerable time, they are ejected in fragments from their prison, or entirely demolished. We arrived at the village, one-quarter of a mile above the Falls, and three-quarters of a-mile from Fort Schlosser. It was established by Porter, Barton & Co., and is the best place in the world for hydraulic works. Here is a carding-machine, a grist-mill, a saw-mill, a rope-walk, a bark-mill, a tannery, Post-office, tavern, and a few houses. An acre-lot sells for fifty dollars. The rope-walk is sixty fathoms long; is the only establishment of the kind in the western country, and already supplies all the lake navigation. The hemp used in this manufactory is raised on the Genesee Flats, and costs there from \$280 to \$300 per ton, and when brought here, it amounts to \$380. Tar is procured from New York, there being no pitch pine in this country, and the price there and transportation here bring it in cost to nine dollars. It constitutes in price a twenty-fifth part of the rope.

You recognize, at a considerable distance, the Falls, from the ascent of vapors, and the clouds which are always

hanging over the place, and you hear the roaring of the waters like the noise of thunder. At Fort Schlosser, upwards of two miles by water above the Falls, the river narrows, and a Rapid commences of irresistible force and immense velocity, and extends to the Falls. The noise and agitation and fury of these rapids constitute as great a curiosity as the Cataract itself. An island, denominated Goat Island (from the circumstance of Mr. Stedman, the former possessor of Fort Schlosser, keeping his goats there), and containing about eighty acres, runs up to the Falls and divides the waters. Here the whole river precipitates itself $162\frac{1}{2}$ feet, according to the report of an engineer, over a mass of calcareous stone and shistic. The greater part of the mighty mass passes over on the west side, and, viewed from the American bank, appears green in the thickest part of the Cataract, whereas the volume of water on our side, when seen from Table Rock, looks white, which is imputable to its inferior density. There are cataracts which exceed this in altitude, but there is none in the world which approaches it in volume of water. The elevation of the banks of the river detracts greatly from the sublimity of the spectacle. Below the Cataract there are huge rocks, which have been torn and hurled from their foundations by the Rapids. Two or three years ago, an immense mass of the rocky stratum was precipitated over, and shook the country around like an earthquake. If it be true, as is suggested, that the rock below the limestone is soft, if the river should ever succeed in carrying off the superior stratum, the whole of the upper lake will rush into Lake Ontario, and deluge whole counties below. I felt the agitation of the Falls in slightly shaking Judge Porter's house, after I had retired

to bed. It is generally supposed that every animal which passes over the Falls is killed ; but this a mistake. Tame geese frequently pass over alive. There is a dog at Chippeway which escaped with a broken rib ; and two sheep were once found below the Cataract, one of which was alive. Fish often go over safely. On the other hand, the chance is greatly against life. Wild geese, fish, deer, and other creatures are to be seen dashed to pieces. A tragical story is told of a poor Indian, which would form a good subject for a poem. He tied his canoe to the shore at Chippeway, and fell asleep. A British soldier, it is supposed, loosened his fastening and he floated down. When he got involved in the great Rapid, he was awakened by the noise, and rising up and perceiving his situation, he tried to paddle himself out. But finding his efforts useless, he wrapped himself up in his blanket, and sat down in the canoe, yielding himself to his fate with Roman fortitude. In this short and dreadful interval between life and death, the rich fancy of a poet might conceive and delineate the ideas which passed through the mind of the poor Indian, and the feelings which agitated his bosom, when on the eve of his final separation from his family and sacred home, and when the ties which united him to this world were about to be forever dissolved.

A beautiful white substance is found at the bottom of the Falls, supposed by some to be gypsum, and by the vulgar to be a concretion of foam, generated by the force of the Cataract. But it is unquestionably part of the limestone dissolved and reunited.

Goat Island belongs to the State, and must be extremely valuable for hydraulic works. The general idea is that it would answer for a State Prison, being impracticable to

pass from it. But this is a mistake ; it can be easily reached by a canoe from above. I saw a man who had potatoes planted on it, and who visited it frequently. Stedman used to ride there on horseback. The land is very fertile. As well for its nearness to the dead carcasses below the Falls as its seclusion, eagles build their nests on this island, which is covered with wood. Last autumn, a year, a large buck-deer was seen for two or three weeks, wading a short distance into the Rapids from this island and retreating. He had probably drifted down from above, and not knowing the safe passage to the shore he no doubt perished at the Cataract. After an elegant dinner we rode to Fort Schlosser, and here M. and V. R. left us and passed over to Chippeway. Near Fort Schlosser is the old English landing, and the fort was probably made to protect it. The French landing is half a mile lower down, just at the head of the Rapids, where there are the remains of stone buildings. Fort Schlosser was surrounded by palisadoes and a ditch, and contained two wooden houses and a Block-house, some of which buildings remain. This place is a little above Chippeway, and is the termination of the portage. Near it are the remains of an old fort, supposed to be French, covering half an acre, with four bastions and a ditch. Near this place are very large ant-hills.

We passed the young gentlemen to-day on their way to Lewiston and the Fort, and returned to Judge Porter's, where we slept. This place is 300 miles from Detroit, and 470 from New York ; 90 miles to Presque Isle, and 190 to Pittsburgh.

August 3d, Friday. We arrived at Chippeway for breakfast. The river here is two miles wide. After

breakfast the Commissioners had a conference, in which they directed Mr. Geddes to take levels and distances on a variety of points, and adjourned to meet at the City Tavern, in New York, on the 28th July.

Chippeway is in the town of Willoughby, in the county of Lincoln. The most opulent man does not pay more than three dollars a year in taxes. Street, the Speaker of their Parliament, lives near here, and migrated from Connecticut. Chippeway is a mean village of twenty houses, three stores, two taverns, a wind-mill, and a distillery. There are also barracks here, surrounded by demolished palisadoes, in which a lieutenant's guard is stationed. Chippeway creek or river intersects the village. The race of a mill-dam here conceals a boiling-spring, which will boil a tea-kettle. Two or three miles back of Queens-town there are two springs a few yards from each other—one impregnated with sulphur, and the other with vitriolic acid. On Lake Erie there are petrifying waters which run into it, at which you can see petrified substances distinctly marked by the feet of Indians.

One Stevens keeps a tolerable inn here. Jackson and Morris had a contest in this house for rooms. The former sent out an *avant courier*, who engaged a room with two beds. Morris followed, and after reconnoitering both taverns, took a room in the rear of Jackson's, to which he could not go without passing through Jackson's. When the parties met, Jackson and wife remonstrated against the arrangement. The former was insolent to Morris who, however, soon induced the Briton to take refuge in the adjacent house.

Jackson has been received with distinguished attention in Canada. The ball at Niagara was attended by forty

girls, collected from the town and the whole adjacent country, and arrayed in various fashions. Jackson appeared in his diplomatic suit, and was received by a band of music playing "God save the King." His lady was complimented in a similar way, and by the rising of all the company. She told a gentleman that she was well accommodated here; that there was no Mr. M. here to oust them of their rooms.

Having seen the Cataract from the American side, we took this opportunity of viewing it from the opposite side, and we proceeded to Table Rock, from whence we had a fair view. The spray of the waters enveloped us with a mist as penetrating as rain. The clouds of vapor generated here must have a considerable agency in producing the frequent showers which are experienced in this country.

I could not but observe the number of taverns in Canada and the western country, which contained emblems of Free-Masonry on their signs.

Near Chippeway, a house had a sign marked *small-pox*, to apprise people of the disease.

One of the hands who rowed us over the river here is named Cowan. Although seventy years old, he can now make two pair of shoes a day; for each pair he charges four shillings. He has had two wives; seven children by one and fourteen by another, of whom fifteen are girls.

We returned and slept at Judge Porter's, where we also dined.

The cold Friday of last winter was experienced all over the country, and at Fort Niagara with extreme severity.

We saw wine and jelly glasses here, of excellent quality, which were manufactured at Pittsburgh. The common window-glass used here is also brought from that place;

and also lead, from the mines on the Missouri, which cost at Pittsburgh eight dollars per hundred pounds, and in this place nine dollars and a-quarter.

Lake Ontario never freezes over, although Lake Erie does. The former is generally much deeper, although in some places the latter is sixty fathoms deep. Lake Erie is 230 miles long and sixty wide; Lake Superior is 300 miles long; Michigan 300; Huron 200; Ontario 180. The smallest of these lakes is larger than the Caspian sea.

August 4th, Saturday. After breakfast we set out from Fort Schlosser, in a Durham salt boat, drawing two feet water, twenty-five tons burthen, and able to carry 150 bushels of salt, between seventy and eighty feet long, and seven and eight feet wide. She had six men, who pushed her up against the stream. But notwithstanding she had been lightened for our accommodation, our situation was unpleasant. The weather was uncommonly warm, and the captain being absent, the hands were very noisy, intemperate, and disorganizing. The current was sometimes three miles an hour—on an average, two and a-half.

Navy Island is in view of Fort Schlosser, and is supposed to be within the British dominions, although this is not certain. It contains 300 acres, and has one squatter.

Grand Island is in our jurisdiction, and contains 23,000 acres. The Indian right is not extinguished, and the Indians will not tolerate any intrusions or trespassers on it. It is full of deer, owing to the absence of wolves and settlers. It is about twelve miles long, and its greatest breadth is six miles. At the foot of this island there are

the remains of two French vessels, which were formerly burnt, on account of their not being able to escape.

The jurisdictional line between Great Britain and the United States ought to have run through the center of the channels of the lakes and rivers, instead of the center of the waters, in order to have effectually secured equal advantages of navigation to both nations.

Gill Creek enters the river on the left bank, about half a-mile above Fort Schlosser, and is considered as the probable place for the commencement of a canal. It has a good bay and landing, is deep, and about twenty yards wide. Cayuga Creek enters the river on the same side, about three miles higher up.

Tonnewanta Island contains ninety acres, and is ten miles from Fort Schlosser. It commences at the mouth of the creek of that name. Elicott's creek enters Tonnewanta Creek, about 300 yards above its mouth, and just above a bridge erected by General Wilkinson. There is a Rapid seven miles from the mouth of Tonnewanta, and falls about thirty. To the Rapids the navigation is good, and to the falls you may ascend in a canoe. Sturgeon weighing eighty-two pounds have been speared at the Rapids, where there are several good mill seats. The country above them is a wilderness. The Tonnewanta Reservation is twenty-four miles from the river, on this creek. The creek has no bar at its mouth. This information I received from one of our boatmen.

We took a cold dinner on board. Despairing of reaching Black Rock with our disorderly fellows, we landed at a tavern about a mile above Tonnewanta Creek, and took to our carriages. The disorderly spirit of our boatmen had extended itself to the driver, and I had to silence his im-

portance. In a short time we passed a considerable stream; the road was bad, but the country pleasant. The meadows on the river were fine, and the land improved on both sides, after you pass the upper end of Grand Island. One Dayton, who keeps a tavern four miles from Black Rock, purchased two years ago eighty acres, at four dollars per acre.

I saw a fish-hawk flying with a very large fish in his talons, and a strange bird with a large head, his body speckled, and wings appeared touched with red when he flew. He was not quite the size of a blue-bird.

At Black Rock we saw a great number of barrels of salt, and several square-rigged vessels, and had a beautiful view of Lake Erie.

We arrived in the evening at Buffalo, or New Amsterdam, and put up at Landon's tavern, where we were indifferently accommodated in every respect. The young gentlemen had preceded us, and enjoyed the best accommodations.

August 5th, Sunday. Buffalo village contains from thirty to forty houses, the court-house of Niagara county, built by the Holland Land Company, several stores and taverns, and a Post office. It is a place of great resort. All persons that travel to the Western States and Ohio, from the Eastern States, and all that visit the Falls of Niagara, come this way. A half-acre lot sells from \$100 to \$250. Buffalo Creek runs in from the East, between the village and the lake. It is a deep stream, about ten rods wide, and has a large bar at its mouth. It is navigable about five miles.

Large oil stones are found at the Indian saw mill, twelve miles up the Buffalo Creek, strongly impregnated

with Seneca oil; also large petrified clam shells, on the eighteen mile creek. There are five lawyers and no church in this village.

The great desideratum in the land of the Holland Company, is the want of water. We saw on the ridge several dry mills. Windmills must be used for grain. The population of their lands has doubled in a year.

The chief seat of the Seneca's is about four miles from Buffalo.

Lake Erie abounds with excellent and various fish :

1. *White Fish*.—The head and mouth exactly like our shad, and so is the fish generally. It is superior in flavor.

2. *Herring*.—Thicker through the body, and nearly the same length as those on the sea-coast. Much like the Nova Scotia herring.

3. *Sheep's Head*.—Like ours, but no teeth; a hard, dry fish.

4. *Black or Oswego Bass*.—Like our black fish. *Bass* is a Dutch word, and signifies perch.

5. *Rock Bass*.—Like our sea bass.

6. *White Bass*.—In shape like our white perch, but rather longer. The tail resembles that of the streaked bass, and it has stripes on its sides.

7. *Sturgeon*, is the largest fish in the lake. They have no dorsal fin, and are not so large as those in the Hudson. In respect to shape they are similar, and have the same habit of vaulting.

At the time the French possessed Niagara, the commander of that fort took four live sturgeon from Ontario Lake, and put them in lake Erie. Lake Erie before had none; now it and all the upper lakes have plenty of them. This was

told Mr. Wigton by the captain of a sloop that sails on lake Erie.

8. Sunfish.

9. Muscalunga, or pickerel; a fine fish.

10. Pike.

11. Very large snapping turtle.

No shad go up the Mississippi. Now and then a meagre herring is caught at Pittsburgh, which has struggled 2,200 miles against a strong current. The streaked bass or rock fish go above Albany after the sturgeon's spawn, and subsist principally on it. The superior flavor and excellence of Atlantic sheeps-head may be owing to its delicious food of clams and muscles, on the coast. The sturgeon of the lake have no scales.

At the Niagara Falls, eels have ascended the rocks forty or fifty feet, but cannot get up, and are not to be found above, or in lake Erie. Eels have communication with the sea, and perhaps generate there. In a pond above the Passaic Falls, no eels have been seen until within a few years, and they have found a communication round the Falls. In the fall, eel-weirs are placed with their mouths up against the current, and in the spring, the reverse. In the fall they go to the sea, and in the spring return. The only small fish in lake Erie, are the muscle and cray fish. Dr. Mitchell's notice, that sea-fish, such as sturgeon, are shut by the falls from the ocean, and have become naturalized to fresh water, is ridiculous;

1. They can escape by vaulting over the falls.

2. By the Illinois in the spring, down the Mississippi.

3. The above story explains how they came into the lake.

We rode on the beach of the lake, from Buffalo to

Black Rock. There is an upper and a lower landing here, about a mile apart. At the latter is the village, the ground of which belongs to the State; and it has been laid out in lots, which have not been as yet sold. A ferry and tavern are kept at the upper landing, by F. Miller, and a store by Porter, Bartow & Co.

Bird Island is a mile above the upper landing; the channel runs on each side of it; it derives its name from the number of birds which formerly crowded on it. It is nothing but a collection of large calcarious and silicious rocks. A store built on it by Porter, Bartow & Co., was swept off by the ice. A block has been sunk here by them, on the North side of the island, (by which it is protected from the ice), to receive and lade vessels, and it will answer for any burthen. It cost \$2,000. Vessels can come up the Rapids to it, with 100 barrels of salt, but have to leave the remainder of their lading for another trip. A vessel with salt can push up against the current, from Fort Schlosser to Black Rock, twenty miles, in one day. To remedy the communication here, it is proposed to cut a canal round the Rapids, from Bird Island to the lower landing. Mr. Geddes says that the Rapid in one place here is six and three quarters miles an hour, as tested by actual observation. In one place it is five miles; and the boatmen say in one place seven miles, and that the general current is three miles per hour.

Lake Erie is four feet seven inches above the level of Niagara River, below these Rapids.

The following statement was furnished to me by Judge Porter;

The price of transporting a barrel of salt from Oswego

to Lewiston is five shillings, payable in salt at Oswego, at twenty-four shillings per barrel.

From Lewiston to Black Rock, six shillings per barrel, payable in salt at Black Rock, at forty-eight shillings per barrel.

From Presque Isle to Pittsburgh, fourteen shillings, payable in salt at Presque Isle, at fifty-four shillings per barrel.

The following are the cash prices of salt at the above places: At Oswego \$2 50; Lewiston, \$3 50; Black Rock, \$4 50; Presquille, \$5 50, per barrel.

Seneca grass grows near Buffalo Creek, and is sold by the Indians in small bunches. It is fragrant, and useful as the bean in perfuming segars.

The Commissioners gave the name of *Grand Niagara* to the village where Judge Porter resides. Grand is prefixed, to distinguish it from British Niagara, and the American fort, and on account of its vicinity to the Falls.

We visited the Adams, a brig of 150 tons and four guns, belonging to the United States, commanded by Commodore Brevoort, who appears to be a worthy officer. This is the only vessel we have on the lakes, and she is employed in transporting military stores. She can make a voyage to Fort Dearborn, upwards of 1000 miles, on lake Michigan, and return, in two months. The British have two armed vessels on this lake, one pierced for sixteen, and the other for twelve guns, and a fort to the south-west of Black Rock, called Fort Erie, and garrisoned by a Lieutenant and twenty men.

Commodore Brevoort says that vessels drawing seven feet water, can at some seasons go from Fort Dearborn or Chaquagy, (Chicago) up a creek of that name, and to the Illinois River, whose waters in freshets meet, and so down the

Mississippi ; he thinks he can effect it in his brig, which draws but six feet when lightened. A brig of 150 tons, sailing from Black Rock to Hudson, would seem incredible.

On a commanding eminence at Black Rock, Gen. Wilkinson has designated a proper site for a fort.

Black Rock was crowded to-day with people from all quarters ; it looked like an assembly for divine service. We saw Erastus Granger, Le Latteaux, a French gentleman, Andross, and others, and dined at Miller's tavern, whose sign is surmounted with masonic emblems. Here we left Mr. Geddes to commence his surveys, and parted from Col. Porter with great regret, who, on every occasion, exhibited himself in an amiable and respectable manner, and whose countenance brightened with a benignant smile, whenever he could contribute to our comfort or pleasure. We left the young gentlemen here, to follow, and after dinner proceeded, with our two carriages, three servants, and baggage-wagon, eight miles, to Ransom's tavern, in the town of Buffalo, where we lodged, and which is a bad house. Three miles from Black Rock, there is a manufactory of red earthen ware. The country is well cultivated and settled.

August 6th, Monday—We departed from Ransom's at half-past five. Seven years ago he purchased this farm of 330 acres, at \$3 50 an acre, amounting to \$1,113 ; and last May he sold it for \$5,650, being about \$17 an acre. It has 300 fruit trees, 110 cleared acres, good out-buildings, and a small frame house. Land produces twenty bushels of wheat to an acre. The general price is eight shillings per bushel ; now it sells for twelve shillings at the door. This is owing to the great influx of settlers.

We observed from here to Vandewater's, uniform oak

plains, without any underwood, only one hill and one mill creek, called the Eleven Mile Creek. It is a lime-stone country.

Six miles at Harris' tavern, we observed a considerable collection of people. A man of the name of Woodward was under examination on a charge of rape, committed on his wife's daughter, a girl of sixteen. The crime was twice perpetrated, and the mother connived at it, as was alleged.

We passed a store with three inscriptions on its sign, in English, French, and German. *Store*, in English; *Boutique*, in French. This indicates the settlers in its vicinity. We breakfasted at Vandewater's tavern, in the town of Clarence, fourteen miles from Ransom's, after a ride of three hours.

Vandewater gave twenty-two shillings an acre, for 400 or 500 acres, seven or eight years ago; he now says it is worth \$20 per acre. He has a tolerable frame house.

Two hundred yards south of his house, is a slope, or perpendicular descent, which he says extends from the Genesee River to Black Rock. Between it and the stone ridge or slope, which runs from the Genesee River to Lewiston, there is an immense valley, twenty miles across, called Tonnewanta Valley. The precipice at this slope is from 100 to 200 feet, composed principally of lime-stone and flint, combined like those on Bird Island, and bearing every mark of the lashing and wearing of the waves; the rocks are, indeed, scooped and hollowed out by water. On digging a cellar here, a great stratum of lake sand, and another of gravel, were found. The opinion here is, that Lake Erie formerly covered the Tonnewanta Valley, forming an immense bay, when the Niagara Falls were at

Queenstown ; and that on the receding of the cascade, Lake Erie receded from the valley, leaving the Tonnewanta Creek ; and perhaps the stone ridge was the boundary between Lakes Erie and Ontario. Some suppose that Lake Erie formerly discharged itself by the Tonnewanta Valley into the Genesee River.

Between the house and the slope we collected some fossil shells and petrifications, which are not to be found in the lakes, as well as of snakes and horns, imbedded in lime-stone. We also saw flint or silex, in calcareous or lime-stone, as at Bird Island. The same appearances exist at Cherry Valley, which country, like this, experiences a dearth of water. In the village of Buffalo, the whole village is supplied by hogsheads from a great spring, as tea water was formerly distributed from New York.

Vandewater supposes that the canal from Lake Erie ought to be on the south side of this precipice, not on the north side by the Tonnewanta Creek. *Lobelia cardinalis*, the cardinal flower, grows in marshy ground, a beautiful scarlet flower, on a plant about two feet high, the flower on the top of a conical form.

The road from here to Batavia, eighteen miles, is bad ; it runs through swampy ground, and is sand with bogs. A dead level country, stagnant water, no appearance of stone, and every indication of an alluvial country. There is no free circulation of air, and the country must be insalubrious, although at Richardson's tavern, seven miles from Vandewater's, where we stopped to bait, they say they have lived in good health for five years. The country abounds with meadow larks, robins, blue jays, and various kinds of woodpeckers.

Five miles from Vandewater's we crossed Murder or

Sulphur Creek, a small stream with a saw-mill. It is so called from sulphur springs, and from the circumstance of a crazy man, who had gone from the United States to Canada, being sent back under the care of some Indians, who tomahawked him here in his crazy fits. The county line of Genesee commences three miles west of Genesee. Richardson lives in the town of Batavia.

We arrived at Batavia about six o'clock, eleven miles from Richardson's, having traveled thirty-two miles to-day. We put up at Keyes' tavern, a good house, and in the evening we were visited by Joseph Ellicott, Stevens, Brisban, Col. Rumsey, and Judge Jones.

The latitude of Batavia is 43° north. It contains a Court-house, built by the Holland Land Company for \$10,000; a Post-office, and fifty houses, and several stores and taverns. A republican newspaper, called the *Cornucopia*, is published here. Tonnewanta Creek runs in front of the town, and has on its waters an excellent grist and saw-mill. We crossed this stream by a bridge, four miles back. It is a considerable turn, and as wide as Canandaigua outlet, at its confluence with Mud Creek. The office of the Holland Land Company is kept here, and three attorneys already occupy this village. The situation of this village, with a mill dam in front, and surrounded by marshes, must be unhealthy, although the inhabitants deny the fact. This is invariably the case; the commodore asked an old woman on the miasmatic banks of the Seneca River, whether the place was healthy. "Very much so," says she, "we have only a disease called typhus."

The ridge, properly speaking, is the ground where the Ridge Road runs. The elevation back of it, and the elevation north of Vandewater's, are not ridges, but slopes,

because Mr. Ellicott says there is a descent only on one side. But a slope contains a gradual descent like an inclined plane, and here the descent is perpendicular, and precipitous in many places. The face of the country is a flat plain, and when you descend from the slope or ridge at Vandewater's you stand on another plain, which runs across the Tonnewanta Valley, until you come to the ridge or slope back of the Ridge Road; and then you again descend on a plain, until you come to the ridge on which the ground is inclined greatly to Lake Ontario. The level country is the cause of the scarcity of water, together with the great quantity of calcareous stone, the fissures of which absorb the water. Mr. Ellicott says that the Oak Orchard Creek is the most considerable stream in the country. The upper slope that passes by Vandewater's tavern, forms the falls of the Genesee River. (See its course traced on the map by Benjamin Ellicott.) The distance between the slopes varies from 12 to 20 miles. North of the Ridge Road, he says, there are no fortifications; between it and the lower slope there are several, and in other parts of the country they are numerous. Two important inferences may be drawn from this striking fact:—

1. That the ridge was the ancient boundary of Lake Ontario.

2. The great antiquity of the fortifications. They must have been erected before the retreat of the Lake.

The outlet of Lake Ontario ought to be examined, in order to ascertain the breaking of the waters by the St. Lawrence. The Thousand Islands there must have been then formed. The bay of Lake Erie which run up into the Tonnewanta Valley, covered, of course, the country between the slopes, and formed the Genesee Flats.

As the antiquity and great population of the Aborigines are undoubted, Gen. North inquires whether the sudden retreat of the lakes may not have produced a wide-spreading pestilence, which may have depopulated this country.

If, as Volney fancifully suggests, Lake Ontario was the crater of a volcano, all these speculations are visionary; but they are probably better founded than his. I saw no traces of basalt on the borders of the lake—nothing to indicate the existence of a volcano.

In the tavern there was an advertisement of William Wadsworth, dated Geneseo. He proposes to let out half-blooded merino rams, to be delivered on the first of September, each ram to be put to fifty ewes, and no more, before the 1st of October, and to be returned on the 1st of June, unsheared. All the ram progeny to be returned, and he is to have all the ewe lambs except two (from each ram), for each of which he is to pay eight shillings cash, on the 1st September, 1811. He charges nothing for the use of the rams.

August 7th. After breakfast we visited Mr. Ellicott, who keeps the office of the Holland Land Company. He has five clerks, a salary of \$2,000, and a commission of five per cent. on his sales. The management and method of his office are admirable. He has a large map in which is laid down every lot, and a memorandum book giving the character and value of it, to which he can refer instantly. The whole bespeaks great intelligence and talents for business. The sales of the Company are made by contracts only, on credit of ten years,—two without interest.

In Ellicott's garden there grew capers and cammomile, and the largest poppies I ever saw. We examined, at his

house, a clock made by his father, Joseph Ellicott, a self-taught man, who was brought up a mill-wright. On one side was a clock which designated the second, the minute, the day, the month, and the year. On another an orrery, working out the revolutions of the planets and their satellites. On another a musical machinery, which can play twenty-four tunes. The mechanical execution was admirable, and so also were the mahogany case and the painting of the faces of the machine, and strange to tell, they were both made by persons who took up the business without any previous instruction.

The Court-house erected by the Company is, perhaps, the best in the Western District. The Court-room has a gallery for the audience, and the building also contains an hotel.

A quarter of an acre lot in the best part of the village sells for \$160, and lots of forty acres, in more retired parts, for \$600.

Who has the preemptive right to the Indian reservations in the Holland Land Company's territories? Mr. Ellicott says the Company, not the State.

Six miles from Batavia we stopped to water at Chequaga Creek, at Marvin's tavern.

Eleven miles from Batavia we passed Allen's Creek, a considerable stream, which runs into the Genesee River; on it are mills. In the bottom of this stream is found a black inflammable stone, of which I have specimen. Is this black stone connected with a coal mine? Is it not schistic or slate?

We took a collation at Ganson's tavern, twelve miles from Batavia, in the town of Caledonia, which is divided from Batavia by the transit line, which runs a little to the

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east of Marvin's tavern. The roads so far, except four miles, are good, and the country well settled.

The usual passage of *small fish* is down a river to the sea. Young eels are seen at Albany going *up* the river in swarms. Probably they are produced in the ocean. They have no visible organs of generation, nor has their spawn ever been observed. Why are there not eels in Lake Erie? If they cannot ascend the Falls, cannot they get into the lakes by the Illinois River and Chequaga Creek? Are they ever seen at the head of those streams?

At Cameron's tavern, five miles east from Ganson's, we saw perennial springs, which rise out of the ground and immediately fill a mill pond.

Pedlars from Connecticut sell wooden clocks all over this country, for \$20, and they answer very well. We met tin pedlars in all directions, *dickering* (a Yankee word for barter) for feathers.

Brom Buffalo Creek eastward, we perceived streaks of corn-fields on the *low land* blighted by the frost of the 18th of July. The high grounds escaped.

On the west side of the Genesee River there is an extensive oak forest, with no underwood, but various shrubbery, and on the Genesee Flats the prairies or savannah appear. Within two miles of this river, on the west side, the country from being an apparent flat level, descends towards the river, and from Avon you can see the upper slope running up and down the west side of the river.

We crossed a bridge over this river. It contains but a small body of water, about two feet deep. The banks are fifty feet high. Sullivan proceeded with his army as far this river. As you approach the bridge you pass the

Caughnawaga reservation, a mile square. The land is fine, and it was filled with horses, neat cattle, and hogs.

We slept at Avon, on the east side of the river, in Ontario County, at Maria Berry's tavern, a good house. This place is laid out for a village, by Mr. James Wadsworth. He sells his lots for \$50 an acre. It contains a few houses.

We got a young Indian here to shoot at a silver piece, by blowing through a reed of six feet long, a small arrow surmounted with hair. He hit the mark with great exactness, ten paces, and in this way they kill small birds.

August 8th. We set out at six, and breakfasted at Frost's (formerly Warner's) tavern, in Lima, eight miles from Avon. At this place there is a Post-office, store, and two or three houses.

The country has departed from the flat level on the west side; is better watered, and is varied by hill and dale—fertile and populous.

The highest falls of the Genesee river ought to be seen (and they were out of our course), in order to have a just idea of the great ridge or slope.

Frost had reaped thirty acres of wheat, so extraordinarily productive, that he estimates it at forty bushels an acre. But he says, that in consequence of the heavy rains after it was cut, and before it was gathered, it had grown in the sheaf, and cannot be manufactured into flour, but that he can make more of it by converting it into whiskey. He rents seventy acres of Warner's farm, (which consists of 400) and the tavern, for \$300 a-year.

Two miles from here to Honeyoe Creek, a handsome stream which proceeds from the lake of that name, and four miles farther, we entered West Bloomfield, which contains a brick Presbyterian church, post-office, stores,

and several houses. General Hull resides here, in an humble house, and since he has become a member of the Council of Appointment, has abandoned tavern-keeping.

From the high hills here, ranges of high land are to be seen, running south and south-east at the distance of ten miles, as far as the eye can reach, forming spurs of the Alleghany mountains, from whence proceed, in opposite directions, the Genesee, Tioga, and Alleghany rivers; probably the upper slope or ridge territories in these high lands.

Bloomfield is a succession of hills and valleys, and is a populous and fertile country.

In East Bloomfield there is a handsome frame Presbyterian church, with a high steeple, and surrounded by sheds, for the accommodation of horses and carriages; also a Post-office, stores, and a few houses. This fertile country is stored with fruit trees.

Five miles from Canandaigua we passed Mud Creek, a low, small stream.

We arrived in that village between one and two, where we found the young gentlemen, Rees, the Sheriff, Bates, and Spencer. We dined here.

One mile south of Canandaigua, on a hill, there is a fort, larger than the one before described. Twenty or thirty rods from it there is a burying ground, where, for the sake of the things found, great numbers of graves have been dug up, and gun barrels, copper kettles, and wampum found.

Morris gave \$150 here for a horse, seeing him accidentally as he rode along, for which the proprietor would willingly have taken \$70. This affair made a great

noise here, and the dealers in horses declare that he has ruined the market.

After the commodore had hired and dismissed two wagons, in order to carry us to Geneva, and after a scene of great confusion we left Canandaigua in an extra stage, two servants coming on in a baggage wagon (one being dismissed here), and the young gentlemen to join us in the morning. We traveled on the Seneca turnpike, which extends from this place to Utica, 112 miles; and then the Mohawk and Schenectady turnpike extends ninety-six miles to Albany. A great concourse of travellers on this road.

The distance from Canandaigua to Geneva is sixteen miles. Half way we passed over Flint Creek, a fine stream that empties into Canandaigua *outlet*, as all creeks or rivers proceeding from lakes are denominated in this country.

We arrived at Geneva in the evening, where we supped and slept. The house was full, and a dancing school was at work. We, however, made out as well as we had a right to expect. The inns at such a place as this will always be crowded at this season. A tour to Niagara, like one to Ballston Spa, is now common, and considered a mere pleasurable excursion.

August 9th. The Rev. Mr. Chapman called on me with a subscription for the Presbyterian church, erecting here. I subscribed \$20. I also purchased a pamphlet relative to Jemima Wilkinson, and one describing this country, by Mr. Munn.

A glass manufactory is erecting about two miles from this village. It was incorporated last winter, and a little village is already rising up around it.

Here we separated. North and S. Osgood were to proceed in the stage to-morrow. The commodore and son were to join us at Auburn, and Mr. De Witt, myself, and a servant set out after dinner, at three o'clock, with a view of going to the head of the lakes, passing Ithaca, and returning on the east side of the Cayuga Lake to Auburn, to which place we sent the heavy baggage wagon, under the care of a servant. We proceeded fourteen miles to John Dey's, in Apple Town, where we lodged, and were hospitably received.

Our road lay between the lakes on the east side of the Seneca Lake, which runs north and south, and much resembles the Hudson in its appearance. Its Indian name was Canadisaga, a beautiful name, which it ought to have retained.

Sullivan's army, after defeating the Indians at Newtown who were 2,500 strong, one section of it having formed a junction with the main body by the damming of the Otsego Lake, passed through the country between the lakes. The marks of an old road are still to be seen at Apple Town; pack horses and light field pieces were all that were brought, and no wagons were used. The first traces of white clover in this country were exhibited on this road, which shows that it does not grow naturally, but was introduced by the pack horses. There was a great village of the Senecas at Apple Town, named *Conadagh*. Here was an Indian orchard, which was cut down by Sullivan. This has eventually turned out for the benefit of the orchard. Those cut down have grown up and make a fine orchard of eighty trees, while those that were passed over are antiquated and good for nothing. They generally grow irregularly. In one place, on a hill,

they appear as if regularly planted out. The Indians had plenty of peach trees. Great heaps of the stones have been found, the shell in good condition, but the nucleus dead. Sullivan's army also destroyed an Indian village, a mile or two from Geneva and the before-mentioned Canadesaga, where there were a number of fruit trees. When it approached Canandaigua, where several settlements were also destroyed, the Indians concealed their families on a small island in the lake, which is now, from the circumstance, denominated *Squaw Island*. The men concealed themselves armed in the woods.

On our way we saw an eagle, cranes, and several ravens, as black, and at least twice as large as crows, of which latter there are none in this country.

We halted at Benjamin Day's, in Fayette, eight miles from Geneva. He is an old bachelor, with an estate here of 2400 acres. He says that eight acres of his land has produced this year fifty bushels of wheat each. The Seneca wheat is the best in the State. The average produce is thirty bushels an acre. Mynderse's Mills, which manufacture the best flour in the State, owe their celebrity, in a great degree, to the excellence of this wheat. Two miles farther is a tavern, kept by John Sayre. Our driver left at it a letter, directed "To the Honorable John Sayre, Romulus."

The road to Apple Town was tolerable, near the lake, and in a beautiful fertile country ascending gently from the lake. Apple Town is in Romulus, in which town wild lands sell from \$5 to \$20, and improved land from \$20 to \$30 per acre. Apple Town was formerly owned by Elkanah Watson, 200 acres of which was reserved by him for a town, which he called New Plymouth. It is

now all owned by Day, who gave \$13 an acre for it eight years ago. The lakes here are only seven miles distant. Day's place is in the same latitude as Albany, and much warmer. Seneca Lake does not freeze. The people on the margin sometimes complain of cold in the winter, but it is owing to the humidity acquired by the wind in passing over the lakes. The water is always warmer than the air, and in passing over the water, the severity of the air is mitigated. This lake is very deep. The frost of the 18th July did not injure the corn within two or three miles, and snow does not continue long within that distance. It is a vulgar prejudice that the great lakes are the source of cold. Canandaigua Lake freezes; Cayuga, only fourteen miles up. May not one reason of Erie's freezing, and not Ontario, be, that the former is more in the line of the north-west wind, which comes from the frozen deserts beyond Lake Superior? The scarcity of fish in the Seneca Lake is attributable to the obstructions at the outlet, and perhaps to the transparency of the waters, and the paucity of weeds to conceal them. This lake is remarkably healthy.

A copper medal was dug up here from an Indian grave, and was accompanied by wampum. Mr. Davis gave it to me for the Historical Society.

On one side is the sun with a cross in the center, shining on an altar, and an Indian and European with hands united at the altar; and on the other the Virgin Mary, with this inscription on the edge, and filling the exterior part of the medal, which is circular: "*B. virgo sine para originali concepta.*" There is a hole for a ribbon to pass through, and to suspend this medal round the neck. The Indian in whose grave it was interred was probably a

Roman Catholic. There are five brothers of the name of Day, who migrated from near Paterson's Falls, in New Jersey, and are settled here near each other. J. Day is lame, as is also his son, from a slight cut in the knee-pan, who is a fine young man, studying law with Mr. Howell, of Canandaigua. The family were very kind, and Mr. Day would be much more estimable, if he did not apologize too often for working, which ought to be his pride.

There is a cranberry marsh a few miles from here, which contains 700 acres. A considerable stream runs from it into the Seneca outlet. It has the indications of being an ancient lake, and may be converted into hemp land. The Messrs. Porters bought 1000 acres on the ridge road, a few miles from Lewiston, for twelve shillings an acre, from the Holland Land Company, for that purpose, and are now draining it with great facility.

It is said that there is near here a quarry of oil-stone, and also a salt spring, formerly worked by the Indians.

August 10th. After breakfast, we left Mr. Day's at seven o'clock, and passed by Bailey Town two miles, where the road leaves the Seneca, and turns off to the Cayuga Lake. This place has about twenty houses, two taverns, and a store. The Seneca Lake is four and a-half miles wide at Apple Town.

It is six miles from Day's to the Court-house, in Ovid. This is built on the central part of the land between the lakes, and is the most elevated. We ascended the steeple, and had a fair view of the two lakes, and the villages of Aurora and Geneva. The Court-house is a mean building. Three buildings that have the appearance of Attornies' offices, a tavern, and a few houses, compose the village, in which quarter-acre lots sell for from \$20 to \$30.

Seneca county extends from the head of the lakes to Lake Ontario, and in some places is not more than seven miles wide. Mr. Halsey, the chief agitator for this long and narrow county, lives a few miles from the court, and has secured the office of clerk for himself, and of surrogate for his son-in-law. Near this place, saw a field of common thistles in blossom, which looked at a distance like red clover. Mandrakes, pennyroyal, Oswego bitters, and thistles, appeared in great plenty along the road. Of birds we saw quails, robins, bluejays, woodpeckers of several kinds, and numbers of the smaller birds.

Three miles from the Court-house, went half-a-mile out of our way, to visit No. 29 Ovid, on the same ridge of highland as the Court-house, where we saw an old fort six miles from each lake. Mr. Bandowine, the owner, has several flourishing nurseries of peach and apple trees. His house is in the fort, the shape of which appears to be an irregular ellipsis, and it contains about two acres. The place where the south gate or passage was, we could observe directly, and by the compass it stood directly south. The ditch was around the fort, and in some places nearly choked up, and the breastwork was sunk within about three feet from its top to the bottom of the ditch.

Bandowine says, that there is another in Romulus fourteen miles distant, in which has been dug up a chalky substance, supposed to be calcined bones. Another in Ulysses twelve miles, at Jonathan Owen's; and another four miles from the last, in the same town. He says that he has discovered on his farm of three hundred acres six different places in which, by digging three feet, he found stones that had the appearance of having caved in; burnt ashes and coal at the bottom, and sand. He supposes

them to have been Indian potteries, or places for culinary purposes. In some of these ancient forts trees 200 years old have been seen, and also trees dead with age. It is said that there is a chain of these ancient forts, from Geneva to the Genesee River, and from thence to Lake Erie. A person told me that those about Canandaigua were circular and had four gates, corresponding to the four cardinal points of the compass. Robert Munro in his description of the Genesee country, published in 1804, says, "There are many remains of ancient fortifications, a chain of which appears to extend from the lower end of Lake Ontario, to the west of the Ohio River. These forts afford much speculation concerning their origin; but the most probable conclusion is, that they were erected by the French upon their first settlement of America, about 200 years ago." I quote this writer for the facts, not for the opinion, which I believe to be incorrect.

We dined at Tremain's Village, so called from the soldier who owns the lot for military services. He resides here, and is proprietor of the mills, and in good circumstances. The village has several houses, three taverns, and two or three stores, and mills in a ravine or hollow, formed by a creek which runs through it. It is in the town of Ulysses, and was formerly called Shin Hollow, by some drunken fellows, who, on the first settlement, frequented a log-tavern here, and on their way home broke their shins on the bad roads. Dr. Comstock and another physician reside here. The contemplated turnpike, from Ithaca to Geneva, will pass through this place. We dined here at Crandall's tavern.

Ten miles north of Tremain's Village, we passed a Presbyterian Church with a small wooden frame, and two

miles north an uncommonly fine nursery of fruit-trees, principally peach.

From here to Ithaca it is eleven miles, and the road is extremely bad, except four miles from the former village. We passed through an uncommonly fine wood of pine-trees. The road in several places appeared to be diverted recently, either by new settlers, in order that it might pass by their houses, or for the purpose of avoiding sloughs and fallen trees. On descending to the head of the lake, we had a beautiful view of a large fall of water, of thirty feet, on the east side of the lake, which appeared in perspective, like a superb white house. This fall is on Fall Creek. We also perceived the lake and the village of Ithaca in a valley. We arrived there about sun-down, and put up at Gere's tavern.

Some of the new settlers clear the lands by beginning at the tops of trees, and cutting the limbs. The upper ones break off the lower, and they soon strip the loftiest hemlock. We saw some of those trees trimmed in that way. Others prefer making a road where the trees have not been cut down, as they can root them up, and the weight of the trees in falling will remove the roots, which cannot be got rid of in cutting.

The distance from Ithaca to Newburgh, by turnpike-roads nearly completed, is 166 miles. To Kingston, about the same. To Albany 210; but if a road is opened by Sherburne, the distance will be reduced to 165. Sixty-five of it is now so bad, that it can only be traveled on horseback. To New York, via Powles's Hook, when the contemplated roads are finished, 200. To Philadelphia, the same distance. The road in both cases will go as far as Milford, on the Delaware, which is about twelve miles

from Sussex court-house. To Baltimore about 300 miles. The navigation is good from Owego to Wilkesbarre (Wyoming), 118 miles, at which the Philadelphians intend to divert the trade from Baltimore, by a good turnpike-road to Philadelphia, and by establishing houses there to purchase the produce that goes down the Susquehannah. From Ithaca to Owego, twenty-eight miles, a good turnpike-road will be finished this fall.

The price of a barrel of salt at Ithaca is twenty shillings; conveyance to Owego by land, six shillings; from Owego to Baltimore, by water, eight shillings. Allowing a profit of six shillings on a barrel, salt can be sent from here to Baltimore, for one dollar per bushel. Packing-salt sold there last spring for six shillings. Each 100 lbs. carried by water from Ithaca to Schenectady, cost \$1,26; by land, \$1,50. A barrel of potash will cost, to carry to Schenectady, \$6,50, and from thence to Albany fifty cents. To New York via Albany, storage, commission, and all other expenses, \$7,75.

Salt is taken down the country from this place by water, as far as Northumberland, Pennsylvania, 150 miles from Owego. It is 120 miles from here to the head-waters of the Alleghany. There is no road but a sleigh-road, in winter, by which salt is conveyed in small quantities; 3,500 barrels will be distributed from Ithaca this season.

Flour will be sent from this place to Montreal, via Oswego, or to Baltimore via Owego. There is no great difference in the expense of transportation. It will probably seek Montreal as the most certain market.

A boat carrying from 100 to 140 barrels, will go to and return from Schenectady in six weeks. An ark carrying 250 barrels, costs \$75 at Owego. It can go down the

river to Baltimore, in eight, ten, or twelve days, and when there, it will sell for half the original price. The owner, after vending his produce, returns home by land with his money, or goes to New York by water, where, as at Albany, he lays out his money in goods. The rapids of the Susquehannah are fatal to ascending navigation.

Cattle are sent in droves to Philadelphia. Seneca County, it is estimated, will send 2000 head this year. Upwards of 200 barrels of beef and pork were sent from this place last spring, by arks, to Baltimore from Owego, by Buell and Gere, and sold to advantage.

We were told here, that the deep well which was digging at Montezuma, when we were there, is finished, and that when the workmen had penetrated to the depth of 105 feet, they struck something hard, supposed to be the fossil salt, and the water ascended with such rapidity, that they were compelled to escape as soon as possible. That it now overflows the well, is stronger than any other, and that fifty gallons will make a bushel.

Ithaca contains a post office, two taverns, stores, tannery, mills, etc., and near fifty houses. It is one and a-half miles from the Cayuga Lake. Boats can come up, about one quarter of a mile from the compact part of the village, in an inlet, which is dead water. It is in a valley, is surrounded by hills on three sides, and on the north by the lake and its marshes. A creek runs through Ithaca, that turns a mill, supplies a tannery, etc., and contains good trout. The situation of this place, at the head of Cayuga Lake, and a short distance from the descending waters to the Atlantic, and about 120 miles to the descending waters to the Mississippi, must render it a place of great importance.

The cucumber and coffee-trees, and plenty of pitch-pine, grow in the adjacent county. One hundred barrels of tar are brought here yearly, at \$4 cash.

The proprietor of this village is the Surveyor-General. He has a merino ram of the $\frac{1}{16}$, who has by thirty-three common ewes, forty-four lambs this year, twenty-eight of which are rams, and sixteen ewes. He intends to sell the rams at \$10 a piece; to purchase 100 ewes at nineteen or twenty shillings a piece; and as he has procured a full-blooded ram from the Clermont breed, his stock will then consist of the two rams and 150 ewes. He has selected a beautiful and very elevated spot, on the east hill, for a house, on which there is a small grove of the white pine, from which you have a grand view of the lake and country. On the north of this mount, you see below you a precipice of 100 feet, at the foot of which there passes through the fissures of the rock a considerable stream. The remains of the first mill in this country are there visible. It is not much larger than a large hog-pen and the stones were the size of the largest grind-stones; a trough led the water to the wheel. It ground about forty or fifty bushels a-day; was the first mill in this country, erected about sixteen years ago, by one Hancock, a squatter, and was resorted to by people at a distance of thirty miles. From the western side of the mount, a spring of water issues, that can supply the house by aqueducts.

August 11th.—We spent this day at Ithaca. It rained heavily in the night, and was showery in the morning, after which it became very close and warm. It felt as if divested of oxygen, and destitute of a vital principle. The sun shone in the afternoon, and you could not sit in a room

without perspiration. It was undoubtedly the hottest day this season.

I saw here Abraham Johnson, formerly a sergeant in Gen. Clinton's brigade, and who wrote a song on the storming of Fort Montgomery, which was afterwards printed. He lives near here and is doing well.

Salmon frequented this lake the latter end of August, and continued until cold weather. Last year, since the erection of Baldwin's mill dam across the Seneca River, they did not appear until October, and then not in the usual number. Some have always continued over the winter, and are caught by openings in the ice, with a hook and bait of pork or white worm. Shad come up the Susquehannah, and are caught at Owego, and week-fish at Tioga Point.

Baldwin's dam, it is said here, does not promote the navigation. Boats are frequently detained there several days, and are often forced to take out part of their lading. At the last court, a boatman recovered \$100 in damages against him for detention. The boatmen and people interested in the navigation were prevailed on by him to petition in favor of the dam, in consequence of which the law was passed, and they now bitterly regret it.

The Surveyor-General has sold out many lots, not quite a quarter of an acre each, for \$25 or \$30, but has stopped the sales, to see whether the conditions of improvement will be fulfilled. Four years ago there were but two or three houses, and when the contemplated canal into the center of the village is completed, it must increase with great rapidity.

A republican newspaper called "*The American Farmer*," is printed at Owego, Tioga county, by Stephen

Mack. There is a fine tree in this country called the Balsam Poplar, which is the same as our Balm of Gilead. The botanic name of the Button-wood, is the *plane tree*; it is falsely called the *Sycamore*, which does not exist in this country. The *Bass* is a Dutch name, its true name is Linden.

There are in the western woods five or six different kinds of plum and the crab-apple, which in blossom emit a fragrant smell, and the fruit makes good sweetmeats. I saw here a species of *wild balm* and of *wild mint*. The Oswego bitters or tea grows all over this country, and has a flower at the extremity somewhat resembling a poppy.

It is said that there are salt lakes in this country, and one near this place, formerly much frequented by deer, who were in great plenty when the country was first settled, and on being pursued by dogs, immediately took to the lakes, in which they were easily shot. About twelve miles south-west of the great bend of the Susquehannah in Pennsylvania, there is a salt spring to which the Indians formerly resorted. This is probably a link in the chain of fossil salt, extending from Salina to Louisiana, like the main range of the Alleghany mountains.

There is said to be iron ore near Utica. About 200 yards from Gere's tavern, a gun barrel and kettle were dug up from a supposed Indian grave.

It was pleasing to see all over the country advertisements of machines for carding wool.

Mr. Gere has finished, for \$2,300 in stock of the Ithaca and Owego Turnpike Company, three miles of that turnpike, from the 10th of April to the 10th of July, with eight men, four yoke of oxen, and two teams of horses. Scrapers are a powerful engine in making roads. He is

also building an elegant frame hotel, three stories high, and 50 by 40 feet, with suitable out-buildings and garden. The carpenters' work was contracted for at \$1,500; the whole will not cost more than \$6,000. Travelers from New York, Philadelphia, etc., will find this a much nearer route to Geneva, Genesee, the Lakes and Upper Canada, than by Albany, and the road very accommodating when the Ithaca and Geneva turnpike is made. Gere is a very enterprising man, and vastly superior to his brother-in-law and partner, Judge B., who appears to have exhausted his genius, in giving his children eccentric names, as Don Carlos, Julius Octavius, Joanna Almeria.

Fourteen miles from Ithaca, in the town of Spencer, Tioga county, is a settlement of Virginians called *Speed*; they are all Federalists. An old man of the name of Hyde belonging to it, spent at least five hours in the tavern to-day, and went off so drunk that he could hardly balance himself on his horse. Behind him was a bag, containing on each side a keg of liquor, and his pockets were loaded with bottles. In the bar-room he abused Jefferson, Madison, and a number of other leading Republicans.

Does it make any essential difference to the community where its produce is sold, if sold to profit? If a bushel of wheat can be carried to Baltimore for six shillings less expense than to Albany, ought not this to be encouraged? Here the profit to the farmer competes with that of the merchant. But the importing merchant is not injured; the money is carried to New York and expended in merchandize, and more is expended in consequence of the increased price of the commodity. How does this doctrine bear on the Montreal trade? This idea deserves farther reflection.

About Ithaca there is more pine than in any other part of the western country. Several hundred barrels of tar are made of the pitch pine. The best land is denoted by the presence of the black walnut and beach ; oak, maple, and bass come next, and the last in order are hemlock and pine.

August 12th, Sunday. We left Ithaca at five. The house was good and the bill moderate. We were accommodated with the family sitting-room, as a mark of respect, but we were not a little surprised to find it occupied at the same time by a sewing girl, and we were frequently disturbed by noisy debates on politics, from the adjacent bar-room.

We passed Fall Creek, and had a near view of its fall, before described. A large volume of water tumbles perpendicularly over a precipice of fifty feet. After seeing the Falls of Niagara, every object of this kind loses its interest and its grasp on the attention.

About six miles we were overtaken by a shower, and sheltered ourselves for a few minutes in a farmer's house, in Geneva, formerly Milton. He lives on No. 91 Milton, and has lived there four years. He bought sixty acres for \$8, thirty for \$17, and ten for \$20.

Nine miles from Ithaca we passed Salmon Creek, a considerable stream, on which are mills, built by one Ludlow ; and a mile farther we ascended a very elevated hill, from which we had a prospect of Ithaca, the lake, and a great part of Seneca county. Here are some houses, and a Post-office.

Sixteen miles from Ithaca we breakfasted at Conklin's tavern, at nine o'clock. Here a road leads along the Popular Ridge, the Seneca turnpike, and another to Aurora, by

the lake. The country so far is well settled, and the houses good.

Conklin was formerly overseer of Gen. Van Cortland, and lives on 42 Milton. He says that no land in this vicinity can be purchased by the 100 acres, under \$20 per acre.

The whole morning we had light showers, blowing up to the head of the lake. We took the Poplar Ridge road, as the nearest and best. The country is well settled; we could see houses intermixed in all the stages of improvement, from the rough cabin to the elegant villa, and stumps and fruit-trees in the same field—spectacles not to be seen in any other country. In the first stage of cultivation, when the trees are cut down a cabin is erected. In the second stage a neat log-house, with sometimes two stories. The third erects a frame house; and the fourth, a large painted or brick-house. A Yankee lays out his money on his house, the inside of which he never finishes—a Dutchman on his barn. The former always builds on roads, the latter on flats, or in vallies. We found the road good, and lined with May-weed. Thistles, and uncommonly large sumach, hollyhocks, and poppies, in every garden, and small sun-flowers wild in the field. We also perceived marsh black-birds in flocks, high-holes, woodpeckers, and bluejays, in great number.

At the distance of every mile we passed cross-roads running to the lake, and at convenient intervals, blacksmith's shops and school-houses. The corn was excellent, and the harvest-fields of wheat, either in shocks or clean, abundant. We passed a handsome Presbyterian church, four miles from Conklin's, where we saw twelve covered

carriages of different kinds, and a number of plain wagons and horses.

Nine miles from Conklin's we stopped at Augustus Chidsey's to rest. This is a well-improved, pleasant place, is in the town of Scipio, and was sold last May to William L. Burling, of New York, for \$23 50 an acre, who intends to reside here, and who has purchased a merino ram and ewe.

In various orchards along the road we saw from 100 to 300 apple trees. Seven miles from Chidsey's, there is an orchard containing upwards of 1000 fruit-trees, planted by Wells, from Vermont, one of the oldest settlers. Half-a-mile from Chidsey's, at Watkins's Corner, we passed a Baptist church, and several houses. The Poplar Ridge road is, generally speaking, excellent, and is on an average about four miles from the lake.

We dined at Henry Moore's tavern, four miles from the Cayuga Lake, fourteen from Musquito Point on the Seneca River, where his son-in-law, Lyons, keeps the tavern; eleven miles from Chidsey's tavern, and four and a-half from Auburn. He migrated from Southhold, in Suffolk county, to this place, about eighteen years ago, and purchased 500 acres, in 62 Aurelius where he lives, for \$150. He now owns upwards of 1000 acres of land, is opulent and respectable. Moore is a Republican, as all emigrants from Suffolk county are. He takes the *Albany Register*.

About half-a-mile from his house, and three and a-half from the Cayuga Lake, there is on Lot 69 of the Cayuga Reservation, containing 240 acres and owned by him, a ledge of rocks and stones extending a mile in a parallel direction with the lake. The higher stratum is composed of limestone, and the next adjoining one of sandstone em-

bedded with marine substances. There is but one stratum of sandstone, of the thickness of two or three feet, and below and beneath as well as above it, there is limestone. The sandstone contains several marine shells, which appear to be strange, and I should therefore pronounce them oceanic. There are littoral ones also, such as scallops, and in one instance a periwinkle was found and sent to Peale's Museum in Philadelphia. One strange substance is larger than a scallop, and one is like a horse-shoe in miniature. From the propinquity to the limestone, I should suppose that the sand and marine substances were connected by a solution of the calcareous matter. Some of the stones are ejected probably by torrents, from the regular layer. The sandstone is easily broken, and when pounded or burnt is converted into a fine marine sand. This collection of sandstone demonstrates the existence of the ocean here. These sandstones are found singly, all over the field in this place. We have now seen shells and other marine substances in limestone, in sandstone, and in flint, at Mynderse's Mills. Moore's cellar is partly dug out of a slate rock, and the walls of it are made of the sandstone. When the women of the family want sand, they reduce the stone by ignition.

The ground adjacent to the road is covered from here to Auburn with May-weed, which is a species of camomile used by old women in medicine. The seed was sown and brought into the country by them. The Oswego bitters is denominated wild balm in this country.

The large wagons carrying forty or fifty hundred weight, go from Geneva to Albany for \$3 a hundred, carrying and returning with a load, which makes about six dollars a day, as they consume twenty days out and home

They make thirteen trips in a year, and find it profitable two-thirds of the time. They generally use five horses; the rims of the wagons are six inches broad, and one has nine inches, and six horses. They have selected taverns by the way, which furnish them with provender nearly at prime cost. From Auburn the charge is twenty-two shillings per cwt., twelve shillings in going and ten in returning, with a load. This mode of transportation is said to be as cheap as water-carriage, and safer.

A mile from Moore's we entered the great Seneca turnpike. At the junction of these roads there is a Presbyterian Church. We arrived at Bostwick's tavern, in Auburn, where we found the commodore and son, and baggage. The turnpike was not so good as the upper Ridge Road, the ground being sunk and wet.

August 13th. Here we engaged a coachee and common wagon, owned by Fitch, a tavern-keeper, to convey us to Utica. Here the surveyor-general learned from a newspaper the burning of some of his out-houses at Albany, and took passage in the stage, in which were O. L. Phelps and wife, and William Ogden of New York, &c.

Auburn derives its name from Goldsmith. It contains three tanneries, three distilleries, one coachmaker, two watchmakers, four taverns, two tailors, six merchants, three shoemakers, two potasheries, two wagon makers, three blacksmiths, two chair-makers, three saddlers, three physicians, a Presbyterian clergyman, and an incorporated library of 220 volumes. It is the county town, and has about ninety houses, three law offices, a Post-office, the Court-house, and the county clerk's office. It is a fine

growing place, and is indebted to its hydraulic works and the Court-house for its prosperity.

There are sixteen lawyers in Cayuga county. Auburn has no church. The Court-house is used for divine worship.

It is situate on the outlet of Owasco Lake, on Nos. 46 and 47 Aurelius ; 100 acres of 46 belongs to W. Bostwick, inn-keeper, and the remainder to Robert Dill. The former has asked \$150 for half-acre lots, the Court-house being on his land ; and the latter has asked \$300 for a water-lot on the outlet, which is not navigable. No. 47 belongs to the heirs of John L. Hardenbergh, and covers the best waters of the outlet, and a fine rapid stream. Auburn is eight miles from Cayuga Lake, three from Owasco Lake, and not seventy-five from Utica. Owasco Lake is twelve miles long and one wide. The outlet is fourteen miles long, and on it are the following hydraulic establishments :—nine saw mills, two carding machines, two turner's shops, one trip hammer and blacksmith's shop, two oil mills, five grist mills, three fulling mills, one bark mill, and several tanneries. At the lower falls, Mr. Dill has a furnace, in which he uses old iron, there being no iron ore.

At this place there is a Federal newspaper, published by Pan, the former partner of James Thompson Callender. Pan settled first at Aurora, being allured there by Walter Wood, and being starved out there, he came here, and is principally supported by advertisements of mortgages, which must, if there be a paper in the county where the lands lie, be printed in it, and this is the only one in Cayuga county.

The machine for picking wool is excellent. The card-

ing machine is next used, and turns out the wool in complete rolls. It can card 112 pounds per day, and one man attends both. Four shillings per pound is given for wool. Carding, picking, and greasing wool (the grease furnished by the owner of the wool), is eight pence per pound. There are upwards of twenty carding machines in this county, and great numbers of sheep are driven to the New York market.

The linseed oil mill can express fifteen gallons of oil in a day, and with a great effort a barrel. The flax seed is broken by two mill stones, placed perpendicularly, like those of bark mills, and following each other in succession. Seed costs from two to seven shillings per bushel, and each bushel produces three or four quarts. The oil sells at the mill for nine shillings a gallon. Oil is also expressed from the seed of the sunflower. One bushel makes two gallons; it is excellent for burning, and makes no smoke. Oil is also made here from Palma Christi.

At a mill north-west from Auburn, on 37 Aurelius, a spring rises perpendicularly out of the level earth. It produces two hogsheads a minute, and immediately forms a mill stream. A few yards below it is a fulling mill. The water is uncommonly good and cold. I found in it a honeycombed fossil, like those at the Sulphur, at Cherry Valley, and near Geneva. This spring is called the Cold Spring. There are two or three others near it, and the creek formed by them, called Cold Spring Creek, contains excellent trout. About a mile from the cold spring there is a sulphur spring. From the fossil found at the cold spring, and the coldness of the water, it must run over sulphur. There is a sulphur spring on the margin of the Cayuga Lake.

Old Forts. Half a-mile south of Auburn, there is an old fort on very high ground, which is surrounded to a considerable extent with deep ravines and precipitous valleys. A ditch is to be distinctly traced on the outside of the breastwork, on the level ground, but it appears to be lost when it reaches the precipices, where there is no occasion for it. There are large trees in and about the ditches, and some in the fort, dead with age. The North Gate can be distinctly traced. It contains between two and three acres, and covers the most commanding ground in the country. We saw several holes which appeared to have been dug within a few years, by superstitious persons, in search of money.

One mile north from Auburn, and on ground equally elevated, there is a similar work, covering four acres. Pieces of Indian earthenware have been found in it. It has a very high breastwork. It contains a north gate, the entrance of which must have been from the west, and produced by the lapping of the breast-work. A large oak tree, three and a half feet diameter, was cut down on the breastwork, which, from the circles on it, must have been 260 years old. The whole is surrounded by a ditch.

Eight miles from Auburn, in Camillus, there is another fort, which has a breastwork seven feet high, a ditch four feet deep, and it is twenty-five feet from the extremity of the ditch to the top of the breastwork. It is a perfect ellipsis, and has an east and west gate only. There is an oak tree on the breastwork, which is three feet diameter, and which, from its circles, has been there upwards of 300 years, and its roots show that it was not left standing when the work was erected. Six miles from Auburn, in Scipio, there is another fort with a ditch, and breastwork

on one side only. It is situated at the confluence of two streams, and the ditch and breastwork form the base of the triangle. Twenty-five rods from the ditch, and in the interior of the fort there is a trench. In digging into it two or three feet, the remains of bones in a calcined form are found. The remains of stone walls are to be seen along the streams in the inside of the fort, erected there in lieu of breastworks, and the creeks serving as ditches.

Near Vandewenter's tavern, in Niagara county, the Seneca turnpike runs through an old fort, in which is Mr. Asahel Clark's house.

A survey and map ought to be taken of these forts before all traces of them are obliterated by the plough.

The idea that these works were erected by the French or any other Europeans is erroneous. First, from their number; second, from their antiquity; and third, from their slope. They are not like European forts—they have no bastions to clear the ditches. The ditch being on the outside precludes the idea of habitation, although in times of alarm they were doubtless used for that purpose, and they may have served as places of refuge against wild beasts as well as human enemies, or as asylums for their families when they went to war or hunt. The mammoth would alone, if carnivorous, render necessary such erections. The difficulty of reaching the gate in the Auburn Fort, evidently shows that it was intended to annoy and bewilder an enemy in his approaches.

At the Oneida Reservation I saw Louis Dennie, a Frenchman, who was born on the Illinois, and when eighteen came up in the French war with a French officer to fight the Five Nations, and was taken prisoner by the

Mohawks, among whom he married. His wife talks Dutch, retains her primitive manners, and is decent and clean. Dennie is upwards of seventy. He appears to be anxious for war, and wishes to engage in it. He is a perfect Indian in dress, manners, and behavior; his color is somewhat whiter. On being asked about the old forts, he says, that from the traditions of old Indians with whom he has conversed, in Canada as well as here, he is of opinion that they were erected by the Spaniards, who first appeared at Oswego, passed into Manlius, and progressed through Onondaga, Pompey, to the lakes, and from thence through the country down the Ohio and disappeared, leaving the country by the Mississippi. That they frightened the Indians by their fire-arms, who being thickly settled, were engaged in continual warfare with them and obliged them to fortify. That their object was searching for the precious metals; that they staid in the country upwards of two years; that the iron instruments of agriculture dug up in various parts of the country, were left by them; that the Indians being afraid of fire-arms made way for them to pass; that the Spaniards were very numerous; that there is a large fort in Onondaga, one in Manlius, another in Pompey; and that they were all over the country. That the first Europeans seen by the Indians were Spaniards; the next French. He farther states, that the Indians say that they erected many of the forts themselves; but he does not see how they could do it without the use of iron tools. Dennie is not very intelligent; he prefers the savage life; his character is good, and what he represents he believes.

Jemima Wilkinson. Mr. Eddy, who visited her at the Crooked Lake, says, that she is about fifty-seven years

of age, of Rhode Island, but of what sect he could not learn. That she has about forty or fifty adherents, the principal of whom is Rachel Miller, aged upwards of forty, formerly a Quaker seamstress, of Philadelphia, in whose name the title deeds of the property are held. That she lives in a handsome, plentiful style, and is about completing a very large and elegant house, on a commanding position. That a large tract of land was purchased from Gorham and Phelps for eighteen cents an acre, but what proportion is held by Rachel, for the Friend, as she is called all over the country, he does not know, as some of her followers have receded from her and appropriated part of the land to their exclusive use. That her dress, countenance, and demeanor are masculine in a great degree; and that her conduct is marked by garrulity and vanity; and that when closely questioned she evinces great irritation. That she adopts the Quaker style of preaching; like them is opposed to oaths and war, and does not prohibit, although she discountenances, marriage. That her discourses, as well set as conversational, are texts of Scripture combined without regularity or connection, but indicative of a retentive memory. That she has no peculiar creed, unless in relation to herself; that in this respect she veils herself in mystery, and does not distinctly say what being she is, although she represents herself as a spirit from heaven, animating the defunct body of Jemima Wilkinson. But what kind or order of divine being, whether the soul of a departed saint, an angel, or a second Christ, she does not communicate to the profane. Her power is founded on the extreme ignorance of her followers, operated on by her impudence and cunning. Vain, ignorant, and talkative, but shrewd to a degree, she will

maintain her dominion, notwithstanding, over some of her sect—a dominion tottering, however, with the decadence of her mind and the failure of her personal charms. When interrogated as to her doctrine, she referred to a book published by Bailey, of Philadelphia, of five or six pages, consisting merely of salutary advice written by her, and full of Scripture quotations, but containing no peculiar creed or dogmas.

We saw Joseph L. Richardson, Peter Hughes, and others, at Auburn. He interrogated me seriously, and with real or affected alarm, about the existence of French influence in our councils. The negative I gave conveyed a severe reproof.

The rage for erecting villages is a perfect mania. It appreciates the value of land, but such establishments will not prosper unless predicated on manufactures.

Mr. Coe, of Scipio, had a full-blooded merino ram, which he sold for \$1,000 ;—he has a full-blooded ewe. A sheep can be wintered on 400 lbs. of hay. The time for putting a ewe to ram is about the 1st of November. The period of gestation is five months. The sexes must be separated from September to the proper period. It appeared to me that the sheep in the western country are larger, and the hogs worse, than in other parts of the State. It is said that Chancellor Livingston has made \$22,000 by the sale of his sheep and wool this year.

David Thomas, a Quaker from Pennsylvania, is settled on a farm in Scipio ; he is a poet and great botanist, and careless in his dress. He corresponds with Dr. Barton.

This place is eleven miles from Montezuma : and the landlord contradicts the Ithaca report about the rapid ascension of the salt well, and its overflowing. He says

that the water has risen to the level of the river, and is strongly saturated with salt. This shows how the tongue of Rumor will magnify objects. We afterwards heard at Skaneateles, that the water is four feet above the level of the river; that it is the strongest water yet discovered; and that it will be used next week;—that one gallon of Montezuma water will make 18 oz. of salt, and one of Salina, 15 oz.

August 14th. Being detained in Auburn yesterday, by the fitting of our vehicles, we did not leave it until this morning. The commodore and son and myself traveled in the coachee; two servants and the baggage went in the common wagon. We were near two hours in reaching Skeneateles village, seven miles, owing to the frequent and heavy rains on the Seneca turnpike. The morning was unpleasant and rainy. There is no very extraordinary improvement between Auburn and Skaneateles; the country is full of hills and swamps.

This village has a handsome Presbyterian church, but no settled minister; three taverns, some stores, and a few houses. It is situated at the outlet of the lake of that name—a delightful body of water, sixteen miles by one to one and three-quarters. The outlet runs into Seneca River, from which this place is distant twelve miles; there are rapids and falls in the outlet, and it is not navigable. This lake contains trout, salmon trout, and white perch of a delicious kind; they are angled for at the depth of 100 feet.

We breakfasted at S. Giddings' tavern, a good house. This place, with four acres, sold for \$4,000, and rents for \$400 per annum. It is in the town of Marcellus.

At Aurora, in Scipio, there is an incorporated academy,

to which is attached a boarding school for young ladies, by Mrs. Barnard. Boarding and tuition in the lower branches come to \$18 a quarter. Geography, etc., \$20.

We stopped at E. Chapman's six miles from Skeneateles, at a place called the Nine Mile Creek, where there is a small village, containing a Presbyterian church, a Post-office, two taverns, and several houses. We found the road bad, and the country diversified with great hills and valleys. A large valley, which assumes the name of the Onondaga Hollow, at the Court-house, appears to run all through this country, and to form a subject worthy of investigation. Limestone appears to be predominant through here. Almost all the day was showery and disagreeable.

Chapman keeps a book to record the names of travellers to Niagara. There appeared on it but few inconsequential names. He has also printed lists of taverns and distances from Albany to Buffalo, and from Buffalo to Niagara. He has omitted the rival tavern in his own village.

One of our baggage horses failed, and we stopped at Lawrence's tavern, still in Marcellus, and two miles farther to procure another. The old man, the father of the tavern-keeper, migrated with his sons here in 1795, from Huntington, Long Island, on land purchased for \$1 75 an acre, which is now worth \$20. The landlady says that her father, of the name of Whippo, was the brother of Mrs. Butler, the mother-in-law of James Desbrosses, and that she is the half-sister of the celebrated Isaac Whippo, and of John Whippo, tavern-keeper in New York. She was ignorant of Desbrosses' death, and appeared to be proud of the connexion. She has had eight children, seven of whom are alive.

Two miles farther we procured a horse at Leonard's

tavern ; Mrs. L. has had four children in two births, two only living. Land on the turnpike is here worth \$20 an acre ; and back and unimproved, \$6 or \$7.

Four miles farther we arrived at the Court-house of Onondaga county. From the West Hill, as it is termed, we had a grand view of Onondaga Lake, the village of Salina, the great valley of Onondaga, and a great expanse of country. We put up at Bronson's tavern about 5 P.M. The Court-house is a large building, but not painted. A Post-office and several houses compose a little village. The country is very rich, but not so well cultivated as in Milton, Scipio, and Aurelius.

We found a fire comfortable this evening. A new climate commences somewhere about the Onondaga Hills : to the north and east the temperature of the air is colder, and more snow falls than to the south and west. May not the waters of Lake Ontario, which do not freeze, have a mollifying influence on the surrounding country ? And may not this influence be lost or counteracted by the passage of air over frozen waters, to the north and east of the above line. May not the progress of the warm wind of the south-west be arrested by this line of hills ; or may not its influence here be spent and counteracted by cold winds from the north-east and north-west ? In very cold countries some springs do not congeal. The absence of ice in some lakes may be owing to powerful springs, as well as to their great depth.

In several places we saw curious streaks of flint, embedded in limestone and slate, forming in some places a singular appearance, as if the silex was pointed, narrowed, or worn, by an aqueous or igneous power.

The commodore drops the *thee* in a curious way ; *Dost*

know—Hast heard, like old Briggs, in Cecilia. But the moment a Friend appears, this important pronoun is liberally used; the teasing interrogatories put by him to the Friend must have afforded cause of irritation, particularly when he asked her if she was married.

August 15th. We sent on the baggage wagon and servants, to meet us at Manlius Square, and deviated from the turnpike, in order to see the great manufactory of salt at Salina, at which place we arrived at eight, having taken the wrong road; we went at least four miles out of our way. The day was fair, the country fertile, but the road very bad. At last we reached the turnpike that runs near Mynderse's mills, and runs nearly parallel with the Seneca turnpike, for a considerable distance. When we first rose we found a fire again comfortable. The distance from Bronson's to Salina is five and a half miles; Bronson's is in the town of Onondaga. Salina is a town as well as a village. We had a sublime view of the Hollow this morning covered with a thick white fog, and looking like a vast lake, which it probably was in ancient times.

From the 14th June, 1809, to 1st January, 1810, there were inspected at Salina 128,282 bushels, and the revenue arising to the State was \$4,879 44. At different times, thirty-three salt-lots have been laid out under the authority of the State, nineteen at Salina, ten at Liverpool, and four at Geddes. Add to this, that the Superintendents have usurped the authority of granting leases, or of disposing of the lands by contracts, by which means they have created such confusion and embarrassment that a law was passed last session, appointing Commissioners to adjust the business.

At those different places, there were in November last

eighty-two salt-houses, in which there were 106 blocks of kettles. In the blocks were 807 kettles, generally of three sizes, containing in the whole 61,000 gallons. The wood on the reservation is cut without any regard to economy, and no adequate measures have been taken to prevent this evil, or to provide for the growth of young timber. Considerable land here is reserved by the State, for the purpose of securing the benefit of these great salt-springs to the public.

Before the law of last session, salt was inspected. For each gallon, the lessee was to pay two cents, and the consumer four cents, for every bushel of salt. The salt was inspected by the Superintendent; but this being found useless and nominal, the inspection of salt was abolished by that law, and the manufacturer was made his own inspector. He is to provide a half bushel, to be approved by the Superintendent, and to be used in measuring his salt, and is to brand his name at full length on the head of each barrel put up by him; and also marks on it the tare of the barrel, and the weight of salt, fifty-six pounds of which shall be estimated a bushel. And every future lessee or manufacturer must erect at least two kettles, containing 340 gallons, on each lot leased by him, and shall pay quarterly an annual rent of five cents per gallon, for each kettle employed. Salt cannot be sold by any manufacturer at the springs for more than six and a-half cents per bushel. The Superintendent of the salt-springs is an office of great importance. His salary is respectable. He is appointed by the Legislature, and gives security in the sum of \$25,000 for his good behavior in office. The style of his office defines his duties. He is to report within the first ten days of every session, to the Legislature, the

names of the possessors of lots ; the number of houses on each, the number of blocks of kettles in each house, the number of kettles in each block, the capacity of each kettle, and the quantity of salt manufactured for the year.

Salina is a short distance from the Onondaga Lake. Boats come up to the factories. It contains about eighty houses. Liverpool and Geddes are within three miles.

One man can attend a block of eight or ten kettles. Each block consumes two cords of wood a day, through two fire-places. Each kettle may make three bushels a day. It takes sixty or ninety gallons of the brine to make a bushel of salt. The process of manufacturing is simple. The water is exposed to a hot fire ; and when it is sufficiently boiled down, the salt is taken out by a large ladle and put into a basket, from whence the water exudes into the kettles. The ladle is kept, during the whole process, in the kettle, and it is said, collects all the feculent matter, which appears to be a species of gypsum. Most of the brine is forced up by hand pumps, and conveyed by leaders to the kettles. There are two hydraulic machines that pump up the water. One of them is worked by water, conveyed by a small aqueduct that extends two miles. By digging a pit anywhere in the marsh, salt-water is found. This is an unhealthy place. In entering it, we saw an uninclosed burying ground, which indicates great mortality. Three of the Superintendents have died. The people complain already of dysentery ; but the sickly season has not yet arrived.

We breakfasted at a large brick hotel, three stories high, kept by E. Roe. It is owned by one Aldest, a salt merchant, and rents for \$600 per annum. There is a great resort of strangers to this place, summer as well as winter,

to speculate in salt. Here we were much amused at seeing a pretty girl of seventeen smoking segars.

If salt is manufactured on the great Kenhawa, it cannot be conveyed with facility to Pittsburgh, because the river is full of rapids. The information that Gerge Kibbe gave at Oswego, about a great salt establishment there, and that it was agreed to undersell Salina merchants, by vending it at seven dollars per barrel, was considered by Judge Porter, of Grand-Niagara, and Mr. Rees, of Geneva, as fabulous, and as a speculating scheme to prevent competition with him, in the Pittsburgh market, in which he is a dealer in salt.

Mr. Rees is concerned in the Galen Salt Works, and showed us at Geneva a specimen of basket-salt manufactured there, superior to any imported. About a mile from Salina, we crossed the inlet of Onondaga Lake, which is a considerable stream.

Handsome furniture is made in the western country, of curled maple, wild cherry, and black walnut, some of which is superior to mahogany. Some of the furniture is inlaid, or veneered with white wood, in New York.

Besides the usual indications of clean taverns, you may feel confident when you see decent girls neatly dressed.

Yankees here rarely finish the inside of their houses. They almost always have, except in the first stages of settlement, a specious, imposing exterior.

We were pleased with seeing so many houses painted. It adds much to their beauty as well as duration. There is a painter at Skeneateles.

Five and a-half miles from Salina, Butternut creek, a fine stream flows near a little village in Manlius, without a name, which has a school-house, store, bark-mill, and

tanneries, and a few houses. B. Booth, the tavern-keeper, who removed from Orange county, purchased 100 acres here last spring, for fourteen dollars an acre. The road we travelled is no turnpike east from Salina, although so delineated in McCalpin's map. It is good in dry seasons, but is now bad. The country is rich, pretty well settled, and is covered with fine woods of oak.

Eleven miles from Salina we arrived at Trowbridge's tavern, in Manlius Square, at twelve o'clock. We reached the Seneca turnpike, a little west of the Square, so that we missed a sight of the country on the Seneca turnpike from the Court-house to this place, being twelve miles, and went round seventeen miles by Salina; but having gone four miles astray, we travelled twenty-one miles this day.

We dined at Trowbridge's tavern, a tolerable house. I saw Perry Childs, Esq., here, who says that the site of the Court-house is fixed at Cazenovia, and that no one is displeased with the position except Peter Smith, the first Judge, who is trying to excite disturbance. Cazenovia is eight miles from this place. Fourteen roads from different quarters run into it. It lies on a beautiful lake, six miles long and one mile wide. A republican paper, called the *Cazenovia Pilot*, is printed here. Peter Smith has established a Federal newspaper at Peterborough. The *Manlius Times*, a Federal paper, is published by Leonard Kellogg, at Manlius Square.

Manlius Square contains about forty houses. A handsome stream runs near it. It is partly on 97 Manlius, and another lot claimed by Capt. Brewster, of the Revenue Cutter, which is now in a course of litigation. The Seneca turnpike; the Great Western turnpike by Cherry

Valley and Cazenovia; a road to Oxford, and the road to Salina by which we came, run into this place. Two quarter-acre lots which corner on the Cazenovia and Seneca turnpikes, are worth \$500 each.

We set off from this place at four, and arrived at Dr. Stockton's tavern, fifteen miles in Sullivan, on the verge of the Oneida Reservation, at eight o'clock. We met Asher Moore and Dr. Kemp, of New York, on their way to Niagara, who mentioned the death of the Lieutenant-Governor, on Saturday a-week. Four miles from Manlius Square we entered the town of Sullivan, in Madison county. About five miles we passed the Chittenango Creek, a large fine body of water which unites with the Canaseraga Creek.

Seven miles from the Square is the Canaseraga Hollow, which, like the Onondaga Hollow, is surrounded by very high hills. The creek of that name runs through it, and falls into the Oneida Lake fourteen miles distant. It is not so large as the Chittenango where we passed it. The deep spring is three and a-half miles west from this place on a hill near the road. A great battle was fought near here, during the Revolutionary war, between the Americans and Indians, in which the latter were defeated. The land on the turnpike here sells from \$100 to \$125 per acre. A farm a mile distant is estimated at \$16 an acre. Here are fine flats owned by the heirs of John Dennie, a hybrid, or half-Indian, the son of a Frenchman from Illinois, and a squaw. Cady's tavern where we stopped to rest, is a good two-story house, and was built by him, and close by is his original log-house. He left a widow and several children.

From this place to Stockton's we found the country

fertile and uncommonly well settled ; good houses, taverns, stores, mechanics' shops, farm-houses, composing in some places a street, and every indication of rising prosperity.

August 16th. Slept at Stockton's last night, and breakfasted there this morning. We found it the best tavern on the road. He lives in Lenox, Madison County, and migrated from Princeton, New Jersey. He is styled Doctor. He lives on the borders of the Oneida Reservation, twenty-five miles from Utica, and fourteen miles from Lake Oneida. Opposite to him is the settlement of the Oneida Indians called the Squalone village ; and a little west is the Squalone Creek, a handsome stream, which empties in the Canaseraga.

We found the morning chilly, although we set out after seven. The change of climate from the Onondaga Hills is very perceptible. I experienced this kind of weather last summer at Cherry Valley.

The Seneca turnpike passes through the Oneida Reservation, which is five miles from east to west. Oneida Creek is a fine stream, about eight miles from Oneida Lake. Salmon run up it eight miles higher, as far as Stockbridge. At the end of the bridge over it there stood a beautiful Indian girl, offering apples for sale to the persons that passed. The Missionary church, in which Mr. Kirkland formerly preached, and an Indian school-house, are here. We saw Indian boys trying to kill birds ; others driving cattle over plains. Some Indians plowing with oxen, and at the same time their heads ornamented with white feathers ; some driving a wagon, and the women milking and churning,—all the indications of incipient civilization.

About four miles from Stockton's we stopped at Skenan-

do's house. He was formerly the Chief Sachem of all the Oneidas; but since the nation has been split up into Christian and Pagan parties, he is only acknowledged by the former. The Chief of the latter is Capt. Peter, a very sensible man. The morals of the Pagans are better than those of the Christians. The former still practice some of their ancient superstitions. On the first new moon of every new year, they sacrifice a white dog to the Great Spirit, and devote six days to celebrate the commencement of the year. The Christian party are more numerous, by one hundred, than the Pagan. They are entirely separated in their territory, as well as in their God.

Skenando is one hundred and one years old, and his wife is seventy-four. He is weak, and can hardly walk. His face is good and benevolent, and not much wrinkled. He is entirely blind; but his hair is not gray. He smokes; and can converse a little in English. He was highly delighted with an elegant silver pipe, that was given to him by Gov. Tompkins. His wife was afflicted with the bronchocele, or goitre. It is like a wen, promulging from the neck, near the thorax. There were some cases near Utica some years ago. A number of his children and grandchildren were present. His daughter looked so old that at first I took her for his wife. Some of the females were handsome. His house is one hundred yards from the road, situated on the margin of a valley, through which a pleasant stream flows. It is a small frame building, painted red; and adjoining it is a log house. Before the settlement of the country he kept a tavern, like the first Governor of Vermont, for the accommodation of travellers. There were four bedsteads in the room, composed of coarse wooden bunks, so called, and covered by blankets

and pillows, instead of beds. A large kettle of corn was boiling, which was the only breakfast the family appeared to have. It was occasionally dipped out from the pot into a basket, from which the children ate. The furniture and farming utensils were coarse, and those of civilized persons.

His eldest son, Thomas, came in, spruced-up like an Indian beau. The expression of his countenance is very malignant; but his features are handsome. He ate out of the basket. It is said, that on his father's demise, he will succeed him as Chief Sachem; but if I understand their system right, the office of Sachem is personal, and not hereditary. It is said that Skenando is opulent, for an Indian; and that Thomas has frequently attempted to kill him, with a view of enjoying his property; alledging, too, that his father is not liberal, and that he has lived long enough. Such is the mode of living of the first Chief of an Indian nation. In England he would be recognized as a king—as were the five Mohawk Chiefs that went there with Col. Schuyler, in the reign of Queen Anne, and who are mentioned in the *Spectator*.

Abraham Hatfield and his wife (Quakers), have resided here sometime; having been sent by that Society principally with a view to teach the savages agriculture; for which they receive \$200 a-year. Hatfield was sick; his wife appeared to be a kind, good woman; well qualified for the duties allotted to her. They are amply provided with oxen and the instruments of agriculture, to administer to the wants and instruction of the Indians. The Oneida's are much attached to the Quakers. They teach morals—not dogmas—agriculture, and the arts of civilized life. Those of England have divided £8,000 among the

Friends of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, in order to ameliorate the condition of the Indians. The means adopted by the Quakers are the only competent ones that can be adopted. They indicate a knowledge of human nature ; and if the Indians are ever rescued effectually from the evils of savage life, it will be through their instrumentality. The Missionary Societies have been of little use in this nation. The morals of the Christians are worse than those of the Pagans. The clergyman at Stockbridge, of the name of Sergeant, notwithstanding the goodness of his intentions, has not been able to effect much.

In this village we observed several very old Indian women ; and there was an old Indian, named the Blacksmith, recently dead, older than Skenando, who used to say that he was at a treaty with William Penn. There was a boy far gone in a consumption—which was a prevalent disease among them. Last winter they were severely pressed by famine ; and, admonished by experience, they intend to put in considerable wheat—to which they have hitherto been opposed—and they now have large crops of corn. They appear to be well provided with neat cattle and hogs. Some of the Indians are very squalid and filthy. I saw several take lice from their heads. They evince great parental fondness, and are much pleased with any attention to their children. An Indian child in Skenando's house took hold of my cane : to divert him I gave him some small money ; the mother appeared much pleased, and immediately offered me apples to eat—the best thing she had to give.

In passing the Oneida Reservation we saw some white settlers, and it is not a little surprising that they receive any encouragement from the Indians, considering how

often they have been coaxed out of their lands by their white brethren. I shall give a few prominent illustrations.

1. Peter Smith, a former clerk of Abraham Herring—he established a store in their country—called a son Skenando, after their Chief, and by wheedling the Legislature as well as the Indians, he has succeeded in acquiring an immense body of excellent land at a low price, and he is now very opulent.

2. Michael Wemple, a Dutch blacksmith, sent among them by Gen. Washington.

3. James Dean, formerly a toy-maker, interpreter among them.

4. The Rev. Mr. Kirkland, missionary and interpreter.

Lastly, Angel De Ferriere. He left France in the time of Robespierre. His mother is rich, and has written for him to return to his country; but he declines on account, as he says, of his red wife. He first lived with Mr. Lincklaen, at Cazenovia; and at sometimes exhibited symptoms of mental derangement. He then went to reside among the Oneidas, and married the daughter of Louis Dennie, before-mentioned, by a squaw—a well-behaved woman of civilized manners and habits, and resembling an Indian in nothing but color. He has by her three children. He has been among the Indians twelve years. Being a man of genteel manners, sensible, and well-informed, he acquired a great influence over them, and has prevailed on them to confer on him donations of valuable land—which have been sanctioned by the State. At the last session, the Christian party sold for \$3,050 02 and an annuity, a part of their Reservation, and in the treaty made with them they appropriated — acres for De Ferriere. He owns 1700 acres of the best land—a great deal of it on the turnpike—

the tavern occupied by Dr. Stockton, a large two-story house, grist mill and saw mill on the creek, and distillery, and is supposed to be worth \$50,000. He lives in a log-house about a half mile from Stockton's; and, I am told, is always involved in law suits. At present, he has no more particular intercourse with the Indians than any other white in their vicinity. His father-in-law, Louis Dennie, is quite proud of his opulent son-in-law. He is a savage in all respects; and says it is hard times with the Indians; the game is all gone—that he recollects that deer were as thick as leaves in Schoharie before it was settled. That country belonged to the Mohawks. John Dennie, before-mentioned, was Louis's son. His wife was of the half-blood, and did not treat him well. He was addicted to intemperance, and their children are said to be the worst-tempered of any in the nation.

August 16th, 1810, continued. After the Oneida Reservation we entered the town of Vernon, in which three glass-houses are in contemplation; one has been in operation some time. It is rather to be regretted that this business is overdone. Besides the glass introduced from Pittsburgh, and from a glass-house in Pennsylvania, on the borders of Orange county, and the glass imported from Europe, there are ten manufactories in the State already, or about to be established—one in Guilderland, Albany county; one in Rensselaer county; three in Vernon, Oneida county; one in Utica, do.; one in Rome, do.; one in Peterborough, Madison county; one in Geneva, Ontario county; one in Woodstock, Ulster county.

The village of Mount Vernon is eight miles from Stockton's. It is by a fine creek and celebrated mills of that

name, and has a Post-office, several stores, and about twenty houses.

We passed on the road Elias Hicks, a Quaker preacher, Isaac Hicks and another Friend, Mrs. Haydock and another female Friend, on a mission from a yearly meeting of New York, to open a half-yearly meeting in York, Upper Canada.

We dined at Noah Leavins' tavern, in Westmoreland, twelve miles from Utica. He gave for this house and a farm of 150 acres, last May, \$5,000. His house is well kept; but he says he is determined to make it among the best on the road. We advised him to buy a demijohn of the best Madeira wine, \$25; two dozen claret, \$20; a cask of porter, \$15; and half a box of segars, \$9; and to have these for select guests, who understood their value, and that his house would soon acquire a great name. That he ought to have his house painted; to establish an ice-house, and to be very particular in having good and clean beds; for that after all a traveler was perhaps more solicitous about good lodging than anything else. His wife, although from Connecticut, in dress looks like and appears to be a Dutchwoman. This shows the power of imitation; she resided in a Dutch village for some time.

The country out of the Oneida Reservation to this place is fertile, no bad land, and well settled; the road good, and as populous as a village.

About a mile from Leavins' we passed a church; a plain framed building, not painted. We saw in some places men pounding limestone, with which to imbed the turnpike, and part of the way this has already been accomplished, and resembles the road between Bristol and Philadelphia. This great turnpike, from Canandaigua to Utica,

is the vital principle of the latter place, and yet it has been so recently made, that in some places you can perceive the remains of stumps. Nine miles from Utica we passed the Oriskany Creek, a considerable stream. Six or seven miles from Utica, there is a string of houses extending a considerable distance, forming a village called the Middle Settlement. Three or four miles from Utica is New Hartford, a flourishing and prosperous village; a fine stream runs by it, on which are mills, and it contains a Presbyterian church. As you pass to the east end of the village, and look up the valley to the south, you behold a delightful, populous country.

In reflecting on Louis Dennie's information about the Spanish Expedition, two reflections occurred :—

Are there any Indian Forts north of Oswego, or east of Manlius, or generally speaking out of the line designated by him?

May not the Spaniards have come into Canada, and so on to Oswego, by the way of the Mississippi, up the Fox or Illinois River, and returned by the Ohio, independently of the usual route by the St. Lawrence?

We passed a school taught by a young woman; this is a common practice in the western country.

August 17th. Utica. The day being rainy we spent it at Utica; we put up at Bellinger's inn, but I staid at James S. Kip's, Esq., who has a very large elegant stone house, that cost \$9,000. I saw at his house Walter Bowne, on his way to Niagara; Mr. Hunt, the cashier of the bank; Mr. Arthur Breese, Mr. Bloodgood, Mr. Walker, the printer, Dr. Wolcott, Judge Cooper, and several others. And this day Mr. Kip had to dinner, besides our company, Walker, Breese, Bloodgood, and Brodhead.

The report of the quarrel between Jackson and Morris had reached this place much exaggerated; and my slipping into Wood Creek, was represented as a hair-breadth escape. The death of the Lieutenant-Governor was confirmed here: this worthy man took his final departure on the eighth of August, in the fullness of years and honor. He had just engaged his quarters at Albany for the ensuing legislative campaign.

A map of the northern part of this State was published in 1801, by Amos Lay and Arthur J. Stansbury, and said to be compiled from actual survey.

Botany is cultivated in the Western District. A man at Palmyra has established a garden, in which he cultivates poppy, palma Christi, and a number of our native plants.

It is not perhaps too exaggerated to say, that the worst lands in the western country are nearly equal to the best in the Atlantic parts of the State. There appears to be a great deal of alluvial land in the former.

Ashes boiled down in order to be portable, are termed *black salts*, and are purchased by the country merchants, in order to manufacture into potash.

I amused myself to-day in reading a curious speech, delivered before a proposed Agricultural Society in Whites-town, and published in 1795, by F. Adrian Vanderkemp, an emigrant from Holland, abounding with bad style, but containing some good ideas. He proposes premiums for certain dissertations, and among others, "for the best anatomical or historical account of the moose \$50, or for bringing one in alive \$60." The moose now exists in the northern parts of the State, as does the elk in the southern.

Dr. Wolcott, the Post-master at Utica, says that out of

twelve cases of Spotted fever which came under his cognizance, he has cured eleven by the speedy application of tonics, such as bark and wine ; that he considers it a disease rising from specific contagion, and operating by a dissolution of the fluids.

Seneca River is the best for navigation ; Oneida the next ; Wood Creek the next, and the Mohawk the worst. A canal can be made along the valley of the latter for \$2,000 a mile.

Mr. Kip has a pump which works with amazing facility ; the handle is iron, and goes by a lever on the side, instead of the center of the pump. It would be very useful in New York.

Whiskey manufactured from grain, is the purest spirit drank in this country, and when strained through charcoal is freed from empyreumatic oil.

I met Joe Winter here, who is styled Judge Winter when over the brandy bottle with his low companions. He told me that he owns a farm at Springfield, in Otsego county, worth \$4,000 ; that he brought an action of trespass by Seeley, an attorney of Cherry Valley, and was non-prossed, owing to his negligence ; and that this farm is advertised to be sold for the costs, on Monday next. which cannot exceed \$20 ; that he has had no notice of it from the Sheriff, with whom he is intimate, or his attorney ; and that in all probability the property would have been designedly sacrificed, if it had not been for the zeal of a friend, who gave him notice at Utica.

Part of the capital of Boston has been transferred to Montreal, and particularly two rich commercial houses. Last year 1300 barrels of potash were sent by three mer-

chants from Black River to Utica. This year not one—it has all gone to Montreal.

August 18th. We left Utica at six o'clock, in a coachee and baggage wagon, for which we were to pay \$50 to Albany, and breakfasted at Maynard's tavern, an excellent house, fifteen miles from Utica, in the village of Herkimer.

On the north side of the Mohawk we entered the Mohawk and Schenectady turnpike, which reaches seventy-eight miles to Schenectady. The country to Herkimer is pleasant and fertile. You pass along the river. On the south side there is a good free road. The turnpike is inexcusably bad, as there are great quantities of gravel and stone near the road, which leads along elevated ground, to avoid the flats.

Near Herkimer we saw an encampment of Indians, manufacturing brooms and baskets. No other Indians, except the Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians, make brooms. Stockbridge is twenty-five miles off. These Indians are now the gipsies of our country.

Herkimer is a flourishing village, about a mile from the Mohawk. It contains several taverns and large stores, a Post-office, church, the Court-house of the county, and about fifty houses. A lot on the main street can scarcely be purchased at all, but is worth \$500. A half-acre lot on the back streets sells for \$200. The fine flat or bottom lands sell from \$50 to \$80 per acre.

The traveling to Niagara is very great. Besides the ordinary stage, we met two extra stages, crowded with travelers. One contained young gentlemen from the South, and an Englishman, recently arrived. The strut of self-consequence, taking notes and observations, and

poring over maps, were amusing. They inquired after us, and stared with eagerness.

We passed West Canada Creek, a fine stream, a mile east of Herkimer. East Canada Creek is about as large. The distance between them is thirteen miles.

The pine flats at Herkimer, called the German Flats, contain several thousand acres. After leaving this place we entered on a ridge, more elevated than the Genesee Ridge road. On one side was the Mohawk, on the other a small stream. This peninsular road extends two or three miles.

We entered the Little Falls between the river and canal. Little Falls is seven miles from Herkimer. We dined at Pardee's, on East Canada Creek, seven miles from Little Falls. At this house we lodged, in ascending the river. The farmers are now cutting their oats.

Oppenheim church is four miles east of Pardee's, and Palatine church six miles. The latter is a stone building, erected in 1770, and Majors Cochran and Fox reside in its vicinity. Gayoga Creek, a fine stream, enters into the Mohawk at this place. A string of taverns is to be observed all along this road.

The turnpike was hitherto so bad that two gates were thrown open. We met three men with two yoke of oxen, drawing a machine for smoothing the road. It filled up the ruts as rapidly as the oxen could draw it. This, and the scraper, afford great facilities for making and mending roads. The river affords excellent ground for a canal, on one side or the other.

Nine miles from Palatine we put up at D. Wandaler's inn, where we had lodged in coming up.

There is a lead mine opposite to this place, on the right

or south side of the river, which is said to furnish excellent lead, and to be worked by a company. It was formerly resorted to by the Indians, and the old white people knew it, but it had been forgotten until recently discovered.

August 19th. We saw at this place a young porcupine, which was caught near Lyons, in Ontario county. The quills are very sharp, and seem to be fastened to the hair or bristles of the animal. They cannot be ejaculated. The tail appears to be the principal seat of them. The head is like that of the skunk, and the body is about the size of the ground-hog. The claws are formed for climbing. It was exhibited as a show by an old man who was carrying it to Chester, in Pennsylvania, where he had engaged to sell it for \$50. One was caught in a meadow at this place, a few years ago; and at Lewiston a dog was covered with the quills of the animal.

We passed the mountain called the Nose. The country near it is covered with great ant-hills. The rocks are composed of granite and limestone—the mountains are very steep.

We breakfasted at Major Henry Fonda's, in Johnstown, eight miles from De Wandaler's, and four from the village of Johnstown. This road goes along the Mohawk the whole distance. A considerable stream called the Canada Creek, enters the river a little west of Fonda's. The name of Canada Creek is given to a great number of streams, and it is derived from their running from that quarter.

This is a fine country. It is called Caughnawaga. Fonda was a member of Assembly two years ago, and is brother-in-law to the Veeders. John, who lives near,

called to see us. Sammons lives two miles off. Close by Fonda's are a church, stores, and several houses. We met several people going to church, of a very decent appearance. This place is forty miles from Albany. Taking a barrel of flour from this to that place, by land, costs five shillings.

The Mohawk country is greatly deficient in fruit trees. We saw no peach trees, but wild plum trees in great abundance. The great frost of the 18th of July was not experienced in this country. Fifty acres of low land, with upland in proportion, are considered a good farm. The low lands are worth \$100 per acre. They are somewhat exhausted in some places, and are better for manure in such case, although generally very rich.

Fonda's windows are hooked by a small bar of iron, gently rising like a spring, and is a good device.

We saw profile likenesses cut in paper all over the country—even at Magie's tavern, at Three River Point.

Sir John Johnson came here during the last war by Queensburgh and Lake George, with 500 Tories and Indians, and carried arson and murder in his train. He killed a great many of his old acquaintance, captured Major Fonda's grandfather and father, and stood near and did not prevent the Indians from tomahawking the former near the house. The Major pointed to the spot with tears in his eyes. Sir John divided his band into two parties, at Johnstown, and went down as far as Tripe's Hill, carefully avoiding any injury to the tories, and re-assembling at Johnstown. Peter Hansen, an uncle of Major Fonda's, was taken prisoner on that occasion, and detained in Canada three years. He is eighty-eight years old; can walk well, and does not appear more than sixty. He could,

when young, lift a barrel of pork with a finger. Sir John married a Miss Watts, the sister of John. He must have been a great villain in murdering his old neighbors and the friends of his father. Hansen's brother was scalped on this expedition. Sir John marched with the Indians on foot. All the Tories from this part of the country were with him, disguised like Indians, and they constituted the majority of the party. Since the war, several have returned, and they are Federalists, except one, who was then too young to form fixed principles.

A few miles from Caughnawaga we passed Sir William Johnson's first elegant house after his greatness, now a tavern. It is a large, double-stone building with two stories, with stone offices. After he erected Johnson Hall, at Johnstown, his son lived here. Johnson Hall was at one period owned by Abraham Morehouse, a complete villain, who was pardoned when under sentence of death. He is now in the Orleans Territory, a member of their Legislature, and worth \$200,000. Sir William was a great man; from a small Indian trader he rose to great eminence. He made his way in some measure to the affections of the Indians, through the embraces of the squaws. He kept a sister of the celebrated Brandt. "He asked," said old Mr. Hansen, "my wife how many children she had." She replied, "three. How many have you?" "That is a question," said he, smiling, "that I cannot answer."

Four miles from Fonda's is Tripe's Hill, a very elevated eminence, which the road ascends and keeps on for some distance. From this elevation you have a most beautiful prospect of Schoharie Creek and bridge, the Mohawk River, the lowlands and the mountains. About this hill and the adjacent country, there are prodigious ant-

hills. There is one two feet high and three feet in diameter.

Seventeen miles from Schenectady we passed the ruins of Col. Claus's house. It was a stone building, and burnt down during the war. He was a son-in-law of Sir William. A mile farther we passed Guy Park, owned by another son-in-law. Both their estates were confiscated.

Fifteen miles from Schenectady is the village of Amsterdam, consisting of two framed churches, (one large and elegant, the other small and not painted), taverns, stores, and several houses. The road along here exhibited granite, limestone, and freestone. In this place we saw a sign, Benedict Arnold & Co.'s Store, in large characters, and another B. Arnold, who appeared to be a chairmaker. I was informed that the traitor Gen. Arnold, has two sons resident in this country, who behave well.

We halted at Gonsaulis's tavern in Amsterdam, twelve miles from Schenectady, with this motto on the sign, "Where liberty dwells, there is my country." This place is four miles west of the line of division between Montgomery and Schenectady counties.

We saw here a three-horse team from Albany, loaded with a species of sandstone for a glass-house in Utica. The intelligent driver could not tell us from where it came, nor what it was, nor to what use applied. It is a peculiar kind of sandstone, infusible, obtained in Bolton, Connecticut, and used for the hearths of glass-houses. No other but infusible ones will answer for this purpose. When at Oswego, we saw some stones of a similar description, which it was supposed would resist fire, and were also intended for a glass-house in Oneida county. When on this subject, it may not be irrelevant to add, that

a species of asbestos has been found in the highlands in Dutchess county.

There went up the river when we were at this place, a boat from Schenectady laden with bales of cotton. The river now is not much higher than when we ascended. Van Slyck and one other of our *ci-devant* boatmen were on board.

We stopped at Vedder's tavern, seven miles from Schenectady. This place was considered a frontier during the war. The Indians burnt and killed in its vicinity.

We arrived at Powell's tavern in Schenectady, about five P. M., where we dined and lodged. The low-lands within three miles of the city, are extensive and fertile. There is a very grand bridge over the Mohawk, a quarter of a-mile in length. The former was blown down.

August 20th. Albany. We arrived at one o'clock; put up at Judge Spencer's. The rest of the company went to Gregory's. The turnpike from this place to Schenectady is excellent. It cost \$8,000 a-mile.

The Supreme Court is in session. Had the pleasure of seeing, this day and the next, several friends, Judge Yates, Taylor, Weston, G. A. Worth, R. Skinner, S. Hawkins, Dr. Dewitt, Southwick, F. Bloodgood, M. V. Van Beuren, and Dr. Cooper.

August 21st. The day was rainy. I dined at Mr. Jenkin's.

August 22d. Left Albany at half after eight, in the North River Steamboat, and arrived at New York on the 23d, at half after twelve.

There are already six boats of this description in North America; two from New York to Albany; one from New York to Brunswick; one from Philadelphia to Burlington;

one from Whitehall to St. Johns, by Lake Champlain ; one from Quebec to Montreal.

In this route, I have become acquainted with the most interesting part of the State. There are four more which I would wish to take, and which would render my knowledge of it complete :

1. From Albany to Black River, and thence down the St. Lawrence, returning through the northern counties by Lake Champlain.

2. By the Great Western Turnpike to Buffalo, and on the south shore of Lake Erie to Pittsburgh, etc.

3. By Cattskill turnpike to Oxford, from thence to Owego and down the Susquehannah.

4. By Delaware and Kingston turnpike in the interior, and returning by the Newburgh turnpike.

Omissions. Vegetable Productions. There are six different kinds of wild plums in the western country, which come to maturity at different times. Some are large and others small ; some are very fine.

The Tamerick-tree is the only species of deciduous pine in this country. It is a very fine ornamental-tree.

On the Ridge Road, about sixteen or seventeen miles from Lewiston, we saw a black-walnut, which we estimated to be six feet in diameter.

The cuttings of *Nasturtium*, put in a bottle of water, luxuriate very handsomely.

Silver-Pine is a fine tree for planting, and so is the white-pine. The former can be procured at Livingston's Nursery, Westchester county.

It is said that Le Rey de Chaumont, of Jefferson county, has sold 3,000 trees, standing, to the British Government, for five dollars a-piece.

Mineral Productions. Excellent black sand, the principal ingredient of which is iron, can be procured at the Little Falls, and on the shore of Lake Erie.

Seneca oil is procured from a spring at Olean, on the Alleghany River, by dipping a blanket on the surface, which attracts the oil, and then brushing it into a receiver.

Col. Porter says that he saw a single specimen of copper from Lake Superior, weighing twenty pounds. The thunder on the bay of that name, on Lake Huron, is supposed to arise from immense beds of iron.

There is a quarry of gypsum in Camillus. This manure does not answer in argillareous or calcareous soils. It is excellent in sandy soils, in pine-barrens. Two-thirds of the Camillus gypsum is dark gray.

An inexhaustible quarry of gypsum has been discovered in Sullivan, Madison county, but a few feet below the surface. The greater part is of the gray kind ; but there are some veins of the transparent.

There is a sulphur-spring in Genesee county.

The celebrated oil-stones are found on Buffalo creek.

The Iroquois.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, DEC. 6, 1811.

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Historical Society:

THERE is a strong propensity in the human mind to trace up our ancestry to as high and as remote a source as possible ; and if our pride and our ambition cannot be gratified by a real statement of facts, fable is substituted for truth, and the imagination is taxed to supply the deficiency. This principle of our nature, although liable to great perversion, and frequently the source of well-founded ridicule, may, if rightly directed, become the parent of great actions. The origin and progress of individuals, of families, and of nations, constitute Biography and History—two of the most interesting departments of human knowledge. Allied to this principle, springing from the same causes, and producing the same benign effects, is that curiosity we feel in tracing the history of the nations which have occupied the same territory before us, although not connected with us in any other respect. “To abstract the mind from all local emotion,” says an eminent moralist, “would be impossible if it were endeavored, and it would be foolish if it were possible.”* The places where great

* Johnson’s Tour to the Hebrides.

events have been performed, where great virtues have been exhibited, where great crimes have been perpetrated, will always excite kindred emotions of admiration or horror. And if "that man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona," we may, with equal confidence assert, that morbid must be his sensibility, and small must be his capacity for improvement, who does not advance in wisdom and in virtue from contemplating the state and the history of the people who occupied this country before the man of Europe.

As it is, therefore, not uninteresting, and is entirely suitable to this occasion, I shall present a general geographical, political, and historical view of the red men who inhabited this State before us; and this I do the more willingly, from a conviction that no part of America contained a people which will furnish more interesting information and more useful instruction; which will display the energies of the human character in a more conspicuous manner, whether in light or in shade, in the exhibition of great virtues and talents, or of great vices and effects.

In 1774 the government of Connecticut, in an official statement to the British Secretary of State, represented the original title to the lands of Connecticut as in the Pequot Nations of Indians, who were numerous and warlike; that their great sachem Sasacus had under him twenty-six sachems, and that their territory extended from Narraganset to Hudson's River, and over all Long Island.* The Long Island Indians, who are represented as very savage and ferocious, were called Meilowacks, or Meito-

* Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 7, p. 231.

wacks, and the Island itself Meitowacks.* The Mohicans, Mahatons, or Manhattans, occupied this Island and Staten Island.† The Mohegans, whose original name was Muhhekanew, were settled on that part of the State east of Hudson's River and below Albany, and those Indians on the west bank from its mouth to the Kaats' Kill mountains, were sometimes denominated Wabinga, and sometimes Sankikani, and they and the Mohegans‡ went by the general appellation of River Indians; or, according to the Dutch, Mohickanders. Whether the Mohegans were a distinct nation from the Pequots§ has been recently doubted; although they were formerly so considered. One of the early historians asserts that the Narragansets, a powerful nation in New England, held dominion over part of Long Island.|| The generic name adopted by the French for all the Indians of New England, was Abenakis; and the country from the head of Chesapeake Bay to the Kittatinney mountains, as far eastward as the Abenakis, and as far northward and westward as the Iro-

* Smith's History of New York, p. 262.

† Staten Island was purchased from the Indians by Col. Lovelace, second governor under the Duke of York, between the years 1667 and 1673. (*Chalmers's Political Annals of the Colonies*, p. 509.) He refers to different manuscripts in the Plantation Office, called New York Entries, New York Papers, which appear to be voluminous. If we could ascertain from those papers the nation that sold Staten Island, it might produce some interesting inferences.

‡ Jefferson's Virginia, p. 310. Collections of New York Historical Society, vol. 1, p. 33, 34. Barton's Views of the Origin of the Indians, p. 31. Trumbull's History of the United States, p. 42.

§ Trumbull's History of Connecticut, p. 28.

|| Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 1, p. 144, &c. *Daniel Gookins*.

quis, was occupied by a nation denominated by themselves the Lenni-lenopi ; by the French, Loups ; and the English, Delawares.* Mr. Charles Thompson, formerly Secretary of Congress, supposed that this nation extended east of Hudson's to the Connecticut River, and over Long Island, this Island, and Staten Island ; and Mr. Smith, in his History of New York, says, that when the Dutch commenced the settlement of the country, all the Indians on Long Island and the northern shore of the Sound, and on the banks of the Connecticut and Hudson Rivers, were in subjection to and paid an annual tribute to the Five Nations.† Mr. Smith's statement, therefore, does not accord with the fact of the tribute paid to the United Colonies of New England, nor with the alleged dominion of the Pequots and Narragansets over Long Island. New York was settled before Connecticut, and the supremacy of the Iroquois was never disturbed ; and it probably prevailed at one time over Long Island, over the territory as far east as Connecticut River, and over the Indians on the west banks of the Hudson. The confusion on this subject has probably arisen from the same language being used by the Delawares and Abenakis ; but, indeed, it is not very important to ascertain to which of these nations the red inhabitants of that portion of the State may be referred. They, in process of time, became subject to the

* Barton's Views, p. 25. Jefferson's Notes, p. 310, &c.

† It is certain that the Montacket Sachem, so called in former times, on the east end of Long Island, paid tribute in wampum to the Federated Colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, for at least ten years previous to 1656. Hazard's Collections of State Papers, vol. 2, p. 361.

Iroquois, and paid a tribute in wampum and shells.* Their general character and conduct to the first Europeans they probably had ever seen, have been described in Hudson's voyage up the North River.† And it is not a little remarkable, that the natives below the Highlands were offensive and predatory, while those above rendered him every assistance and hospitality in their power: Of all these tribes, about nine or ten families remain on Long Island; their principal settlement is on a track of one thousand acres on Montauk Point.

The Stockbridge Indians migrated from Hudson's River in 1734, to Stockbridge, in Massachusetts, from whence they removed about the year 1785, to lands assigned to them by the Oneidas in their territory.‡ The Brother-town Indians formerly resided in Narraganset, in Rhode Island, and in Farmington, Stonington, Mohegan, and some other towns in Connecticut, and are a remnant of the Muhhekanew Indians, formerly called the Seven Tribes on the Sea Coast. They also inhabit lands presented to them by the Oneidas. These Indians and the Stockbridge Indians, augmented in a small degree by migrations from the Long Island Indians, have formed two settlements, which by an accurate census taken in 1794, contained four hundred and fifty souls. But the greater part of the Indians below Albany retreated at an early period from the approach of civilized man, and became merged in the nations of the north and the west. As far

* Smith's History of New York. Colden's History of the Five Nations.

† Purchas' Pilgrim, vol. 3, p. 58. New York Historical Collections, vol. 1, p. 102.

‡ Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. 4, p. 67, &c.

back as 1687, just after the destruction of the Mohawk Castles by the French, Governor Dongan advised* the Five Nations to open a path for all the North Indians and Mohickanders, that were among the Ottawas and other nations, and to use every endeavor to bring them home.

The remaining and much greater part of the State was occupied by the Romans of this western world,† who composed a federal Republic, and were denominated by the English, the Five Nations, the Six Nations, the Confederates; by the French, the Iroquois; by the Dutch, the Maquas, or Mahakuase; by the southern Indians, the Massawomacs; by themselves, the Mingos, or Mingoians, and sometimes the Aganuschion, or United people, and their confederacy they styled the Kenunctioni.‡

The dwelling lands of this confederacy were admirably adapted for convenience, for subsistence, and for conquest. They comprise the greatest body of the most fertile lands in North America; and they are the most elevated grounds in the United States—from whence the waters run in every direction. The Ohio, the Delaware, the Susquehanna, the Hudson, and the St. Lawrence, almost all the great rivers, beside a very considerable number of secondary ones, originate here, and are discharged into the Gulf of Mexico by the Mississippi River, into the Gulf of St. Lawrence by the St. Lawrence River, or into the Atlantic Ocean by various channels. Five great inland seas

* Colden's History of the Five Nations, vol. 1, p. 85, &c.

† Volney's View of the United States, p. 470-476. Colden's Five Nations, vol. 1, p. 4, 5.

‡ Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. 1, p. 144, &c., *Daniel Gookins*. Pownall on the Colonies, vol. 1, p. 235. Smith's History of New Jersey, p. 136. Morse's Gazetteer, title Six Nations. Jefferson's Virginia, p. 140. Smith's History of New York, p. 45.

reach upward of 2,000 miles through a considerable part of this territory, and afford an almost uninterrupted navigation to that extent. By these lakes and rivers, the confederates were enabled, at all times, and in all directions, to carry war and destruction among the surrounding and the most distant nations. And their country also abounds with other lakes, some of great size; Lake Champlain, formerly called the Sea of the Iroquois, Lake George, the Saratoga, the Oneida, the Canadesaga or Seneca, the Cayuga, the Otsego, the Skeneateles, the Canandaigua, the Cross, the Onondaga, the Otisco, the Owasco, the Crooked, the Canesus, the Hemlock, the Honeyeo, the Chatauque, the Caniaderaga, and the Canasaraga—composing in number and extent, with the five great lakes, the greatest mass of fresh water to be found in the world. In addition to the fertility of the soil, we may mention the mildness of the climate to the west of the Onondaga Hills, the salubrity and the magnificent scenery of the country. The numerous waters were stored with the salmon, the trout, the masquinonges, the white fish, the shad, the rock fish, the sturgeon, the perch, and other fish of various kinds, and the forests abounded with an incredible number and variety of game. The situation of the inhabitants was rendered very eligible from these sources of subsistence, connected with a very productive soil; for they had passed over the pastoral state, and followed agriculture as well fishing and hunting. The selection of this country for a habitation was the wisest expedient that could have been adopted by a military nation to satiate their thirst for glory, and to extend their conquests over the continent; and if they preferred the arts of peace, there was none better calculated for this important purpose. In a few

days their forces could be seen, their power could be felt, at the mouth of the Ohio or the Missouri, on the waters of the Hudson or the St. Lawrence, or in the bays of Delaware or Chesapeake.

It is not a little difficult to define the territorial limits of this extraordinary people,* for on this subject there are the most repugnant representations by the French and English writers; arising from interest, friendship, prejudice, and enmity. While the French, on the one hand, were involved in continual hostility with them, the English, on the other hand, were connected by alliance and by commerce. By the 15th article of the treaty of Utrecht, concluded in 1713, it was stipulated "that the subjects of France inhabiting Canada, and others, shall hereafter give no hindrance or molestation to the Five Nations, or cantons, subject to the dominion of Great Britain."† As between France and England the confederates were, therefore, to be considered as the subjects of the latter, and of course the British dominion was co-extensive with the rightful territory of the five cantons, it then became the policy of France to diminish, and that of England to enlarge this territory. But, notwithstanding the confusion which has grown out of these clashing interests and contradictory representations, it is not perhaps very far from the truth to pronounce, that the Five Nations were entitled by patrimony or conquest to all the territory in the

* Rogers' Concise Account of North America, p. 6. Colden, vol. 1, p. 87. Pownall on the Colonies, vol. 1, p. 235, &c. Smith's New York, p. 58, 179, &c. Douglass' Summary, p. 11, &c. Pownall's Geographical Description, &c. Charlevoix Histoire Generale de la Nouvelle France, &c.

† Chalmers' Collection of Treaties, vol. 1, p. 382.

United States and in Canada, not occupied by the Creeks, the Cherokees, and the other southern Indians, by the Sioux, the Kinisteneaux, and the Chippewas, and by the English and French as far west as the Mississippi and Lake Winnipeg, as far north-west as the waters which unite this lake and Hudson's Bay, and as far north as Hudson's Bay and Labrador. The Five Nations claim, says Smith, "all the lands not sold to the English from the mouth of Sorel River, on the south side of Lakes Erie and Ontario, on both sides of the Ohio, till it falls into the Mississippi; and on the north side of these lakes, that whole territory between the Outawas River and Lake Huron, and even beyond the straits between that and Lake Erie." The principal point of dispute between the English and French was, whether the dominion of the confederates extended north of the Great Lake: but I think it is evident that it did. It is admitted by several French writers, that the Iroquois had several villages on the north side of Lake Ontario; and they are even laid down in the maps attached to Charlevoix, and it cannot be denied but that they subdued the Hurons and Algonkins, who lived on that side of the Great Lakes, and consequently were entitled to their country by the right of conquest. Douglass estimated their territory at about twelve hundred miles in length, from north to south, and from seven to eight hundred miles in breadth. This was either hereditary or conquered. Their patrimonial, and part of their conquered country, were used for the purpose of habitation and hunting. Their hunting-grounds were very extensive, including a large triangle on the southeast side of the St. Lawrence River, the country lying on the south and east sides of Lake Erie, the country between the Lakes Erie

and Michigan, and the country lying on the north of Lake Erie, and northwest of Lake Ontario, and between the Lakes Ontario and Huron. All the remaining part of their territory was inhabited by the Abenakis, Algonkins, Shawanese, Delawares, Illinois, Miamies, and other vassal nations.

The acquisition of supremacy over a country of such amazing extent and fertility, inhabited by warlike and numerous nations, must have been the result of unity of design and system of action proceeding from a wise and energetic policy, continued for a long course of time. To their social combinations, military talents, and exterior arrangements, we must look for this system, if such a system is to be found.

The Confederates had proceeded far beyond the first element of all associations—that of combination into families: they had their villages, their tribes, their nations, and their confederacy; but they had not advanced beyond the first stage of government. They were destitute of an executive and judiciary to execute the determinations of their councils; and their government was therefore merely advisory, and without a coercive principle. The respect which was paid to their chiefs, and the general odium that attached to disobedience, rendered the decisions of their legislatures, for a long series of time, of as much validity as if they had been enforced by an executive arm.

They were originally divided into Five Nations—the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. In 1712, the Tuscaroras, who lived in the back parts of North Carolina, and who had formed a deep and general conspiracy to exterminate the whites, were driven from their country, were adopted by the Iroquois as a Sixth

Nation, and lived on lands between the Oneidas and Onondagas, assigned to them by the former.*

The Mohawks had four towns and one small village, situated on or near the fertile banks of the river of that name. The position of the first was at the confluence of the Schoharie Creek and Mohawk River, and the others were farther to the west. This nation, from their propinquity to the settlements of the whites, from their martial renown and military spirit, have, like Holland, frequently given their name to the whole confederacy, which is often denominated the Mohawks in the annals of those days; and it may be found employed in the pages of a celebrated periodical writer of Great Britain, for the purpose of the most exquisite humor.† This nation was always held in the greatest veneration by its associates. At the important treaty of 1768, at Fort Stanwix, by Sir William Johnson, they were declared by the other nations “the true old heads of the confederacy.”‡ The Oneidas had their principal seat on the south of the Oneida Lake, the Onondagas near the Onondaga, and the Cayugas near the Cayuga Lake. The principal village of the Senecas was near the Genesee River, about twenty miles from Irondequoit Bay. Each nation was divided into three tribes—the Tortoise, the Bear, and the Wolf; and each village was, like the cities of the United Netherlands—a distinct republic; and its concerns were managed by its particular chiefs.§ Their exterior relations, general interests, and

* Smith's New York, p. 46. Douglass' Summary, p. 243.

† Spectator.

‡ The proceedings of this treaty were never published. I have seen them in manuscript, in the possession of the late Vice President Clinton.

§ See Charlevoix, Colden, &c.

national affairs, were conducted and superintended by a great council, assembled annually in Onondaga, the central canton, composed of the chiefs of each republic; and eighty sachems were frequently convened at this national assembly. It took cognizance of the great questions of war and peace; of the affairs of the tributary nations, and of their negotiations with the French and English colonies. All their proceedings were conducted with great deliberation, and were distinguished for order, decorum, and solemnity. In eloquence, in dignity, and in all the characteristics of profound policy, they surpassed an assembly of feudal barons, and were perhaps not far inferior to the great Amphyctionic Council of Greece. Dr. Robertson, who has evinced, in almost every instance, a strong propensity to degrade America below its just rank in the scale of creation, was compelled to qualify the generality of his censures in relation to its political institutions, by saying, "If we except the celebrated league which united the Five Nations in Canada into a Federal Republic, we can discern few such traces of political wisdom among the rude American tribes as discover any great degree of foresight or extent of intellectual abilities."*

A distinguished feature in the character of the confederates, was an exalted spirit of liberty, which revolted with equal indignation at domestic or foreign control. "We are born free, (said Garangula, in his admirable speech to the governor general of Canada,) we neither depend on Ononthio, or Corlear;"† on France, or on England. Baron Lahontan, who openly avowed his utter detestation

* Robertson's America, vol. 1., p. 435.

† See this speech in Appendix, No. 1; taken from Smith's History of New York.

and abhorrence of them, is candid enough to acknowledge, that "they laugh at the menaces of kings and governors, for they have no idea of dependence ; nay, the very word is to them insupportable. They look upon themselves as sovereigns, accountable to none but God alone, whom they call the Great Spirit." They admitted of no hereditary distinctions. The office of sachem was the reward of personal merit ; of great wisdom, or commanding eloquence ; of distinguished services in the cabinet or in the field. It was conferred by silent and general consent, as the spontaneous tribute due to eminent worth ; and it could only be maintained by the steady and faithful cultivation of the virtues and accomplishments which procured it. No personal slavery was permitted :* their captives were either killed or adopted as a portion of the nation. The children of the chiefs were encouraged to emulate the virtues of their sires, and were frequently elevated to the dignities occupied by their progenitors. From this source has arisen an important error with respect to the establishment of privileged orders among the Confederates.

There is a striking similitude between the Romans and the Confederates, not only in their martial spirit and rage for conquest, but in their treatment of the conquered. Like the Romans, they not only adopted individuals, but incorporated the remnant of their vanquished enemies into their nation, by which they continually recruited their population, exhausted by endless and wasting wars, and were enabled to continue their career of victory and desolation : if their unhappy victims hesitated or refused, they were compelled to accept of the honors of adoption.

* Colden, vol. 1., p. 11

The Hurons of the Island of Orleans, in 1656, knowing no other way to save themselves from destruction, solicited admission into the canton of the Mohawks, and were accepted ; but at the instance of the French, they declined their own proposal. On this occasion the Mohawks continued their ravages, and compelled acquiescence ; they sent thirty of their warriors to Quebec, who took them away, with the consent of the governor general ; he, in fact, not daring to refuse, after having addressed him in the following terms of proud defiance ; which cannot but bring to our recollection similar instances of Roman spirit, when Rome was free.* “ Lift up thy arm, Onon-thio, and allow thy children, whom thou holdest pressed to thy bosom, to depart ; for if they are guilty of any imprudence, have reason to dread, lest in coming to chastise them, my blows fall on thy head.” Like the Romans, also, they treated their vassal nations with extreme rigor. If there were any delay in the render of the annual tribute, military execution followed, and the wretched delinquents frequently took refuge in the houses of the English to escape from destruction. On all public occasions they took care to demonstrate their superiority and dominion, and at all times they called their vassals to an awful account, if guilty of violating the injunctions of the great council. At a treaty held on the forks of the Delaware, in 1758, by the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, with the Six Nations, several claims of the Munseys, Wapings, and other Delaware Indians, for lands in the latter province, were adjusted and satisfied under the cognizance of the Confederates, who ordered them to deliver

* Heriot's History of Canada, p. 79. (*This work is a compilation principally from Charlevoix.*)

up their prisoners, and to be at peace with the English, and who assumed a dictatorial tone, and appeared to exercise absolute authority over the other Indians.* At a former conference on this subject, a Munsey, or Minisink Indian had spoken sitting, not being allowed to stand, until a Cayuga Chief had spoken; when the latter thus expressed himself: "I, who am the Mingoian, am by this belt to inform you that the Munseys are women, and cannot hold treaties for themselves; therefore I am sent to inform you, that the invitation you gave the Munseys is agreeable to us, the Six Nations."

At a treaty held at Lancaster in 1742, by the government of Pennsylvania with the Iroquois, the governor complained of the Delawares, who refused to remove from some lands which they had sold on the River Delaware.† On this occasion a great chief called *Cannassateegoo*, after severely reprimanding them, and ordering them to depart from the land immediately to Wyoming or Shamokin, concluded in the following manner: "After our just reproof and absolute order to depart from the land, you are now to take notice of what we have further to say to you. This string of wampum serves to forbid you, your children, and grand-children, to the latest posterity, from ever meddling in land affairs; neither you, nor any who shall descend from you, are ever hereafter to sell any land. For this purpose you are to preserve this string, in memory of what your uncles have this day given you in charge. We have some other business to transact with our brethren, and therefore depart the council, and consider what has been said to you." The

* Smith's New Jersey, 466, &c.

† Colden, vol. 1. p. 31.

Confederates had captured a great part of the Shawanese Nation who lived on the Wabash, but afterward, by the mediation of Mr. Penn, at the first settlement of Pennsylvania, gave them liberty to settle in the western parts of that province ; but obliged them, as a badge of their cowardice, to wear female attire for a long time : and some nations as low down as 1769, were not permitted to appear ornamented with paint * at any general meeting or congress where the Confederates attended, that being an express article in their capitulations.† This humiliation of the tributary nations was, however, tempered with a paternal regard for their interests in all negotiations with the whites ; and care was taken that no trespasses should be committed on their rights, and that they should be justly dealt with in all their concerns.

War was the favorite pursuit of this martial people, and military glory their ruling passion. Agriculture, and the laborious drudgery of domestic life were left to the women. The education of the savage was solely directed to hunting and war. From his early infancy he was taught to bend the bow, to point the arrow, to hurl the tomahawk, and to wield the club. He was instructed to pursue the footsteps of his enemies through the pathless and unexplored forest ; to mark the most distant indications of danger ; to trace his way by the appearances of the trees and by the stars of heaven, and to endure fatigue, and cold, and famine, and every privation. He commenced his career of blood by hunting the wild beasts of

* Roger's Concise Account, &c. p. 209, &c.

† This is the Shawanese nation of Indians, who, under the auspices of their prophet, have lately had an engagement with the Army under the command of governor Harrison.

the woods, and after learning the dexterous use of the weapons of destruction, he lifted his sanguinary arm against his fellow-creatures. The profession of a warrior was considered the most illustrious pursuit ; their youth looked forward to the time when they could march against an enemy, with all the avidity of an epicure for the sumptuous dainties of a Heliogabalus. And this martial ardor was continually thwarting the pacific counsels of the elders, and enthralling them in perpetual and devastating wars. With savages in general, this ferocious propensity was impelled by a blind fury, and was but little regulated by the dictates of skill and judgment ; on the contrary, with the Iroquois, war was an art. All their military movements were governed by system and policy. They never attacked a hostile country until they had sent out spies to explore and to designate its vulnerable points, and whenever they encamped, they observed the greatest circumspection to guard against surprize ; whereas the other savages only sent out scouts to reconnoitre ; but they never went far from the camp, and if they returned without perceiving any signs of an enemy, the whole band went quietly to sleep, and were often the victims of their rash confidence.*

Whatever superiority of force the Iroquois might have, they never neglected the use of stratagems : they employed all the crafty wiles of the Carthagenians. The cunning of the fox, the ferocity of the tiger, and the power of the lion were united in their conduct. They preferred to vanquish their enemy by taking him off his guard ; by involving him in an ambuscade ; by falling upon him in the hour of sleep ; but when emergencies rendered it necessary for them to

* Colden, vol. 1. p. 110. Heriot, p. 15.

face him in the open field of battle, they exhibited a courage and contempt of death which have never been surpassed.

Although we have no reason to believe that they were, generally speaking, Anthropophagi, yet we have no doubt but that they sometimes eat the bodies of their enemies killed in battle, more indeed for the purpose of exciting their ferocious fury than for gratifying their appetite. Like all other savage nations, they delighted in cruelty. To inflict the most exquisite torture upon their captive, to produce his death by the most severe and protracted sufferings, was sanctioned by general and immemorial usage. Herodotus informs us, that the Scythians (who were, in all probability, the ancestors of the greater part of our red men), drank the blood of their enemies, and suspended their scalps from the bridle of their horses, for a napkin and a trophy; that they used their skulls for drinking vessels, and their skins as a covering to their horses.* In the war between the Carthagenians and their mercenaries, Gisco, a Carthagenian General, and seven hundred prisoners, according to Polybius, were scalped alive; and in return, Spendius, a General of the mercenaries, was crucified, and the prisoners taken in the war thrown alive to the elephants.† From these celebrated nations we may derive the practice of scalping, so abhorrent to humanity; and it is not improbable, considering the maritime skill and distant voyages of the Phœnicians and Carthagenians, that America derives part of its population from that source by water, as it undoubtedly has from the northeast

* Beloe's Herodotus, vol. 2. p. 419.

† Polybius, b. 1. chap. 6.

parts of Asia by land, with the exception of a narrow strait.

But the Five Nations, notwithstanding their horrible cruelty, are in one respect entitled to singular commendation for the exercise of humanity: those enemies they spared in battle they made free; whereas, with all other barbarous nations, slavery was the commutation of death. But it becomes not us, if we value the characters of our forefathers; it becomes not the civilized nations of Europe who have had American possessions, to inveigh against the merciless conduct of the savage. His appetite for blood was sharpened and whetted by European instigation, and his cupidity was enlisted on the side of cruelty by every temptation. In the wars between France and England and their colonies, their Indian allies were entitled to a premium for every scalp of an enemy. In the war preceding 1703, the government of Massachusetts gave twelve pounds for every Indian scalp; in that year the premium was raised to forty pounds, but in 1722 it was augmented to one hundred pounds.* An act was passed on the 25th February, 1745, by our colonial legislature, entitled "An act for giving a reward for such scalps and prisoners as shall be taken by the inhabitants of (or Indians in alliance with) this colony, and to prevent the inhabitants of the city and county of Albany from selling rum to the Indians."† In 1746, the scalps of two Frenchmen were presented to one of our colonial governors at Albany, by three of the confederate Indians; and his excellency, after gratifying them with money and fine

* Douglass' Summary, p. 199. 586. Holmes' American Annals, vol. 2. p. 116.

† Journals of Colonial Assembly, vol. 1. p. 95.

clothes, assured them how well he took this special mark of their fidelity, and that he would always remember this act of friendship.* The employment of savages, and putting into their hands the scalping knife during our revolutionary war, were openly justified in the House of Lords by Lord Suffolk, the British Secretary of State, who vindicated its policy and necessity, and declared "that the measure was also allowable on principle; for that it was perfectly justifiable to use all the means that God and nature had put into their hands.†" The eloquent rebuke of Lord Chatham has perpetuated the sentiment, and consigned its author to immortal infamy. It were to be wished, for the honor of human nature, that an impenetrable veil could be drawn over these horrid scenes; but, alas! they are committed to the imperishable pages of history, and they are already recorded with the conflagrations of Smithfield, the massacres of St. Bartholomew, and the cannibal barbarities of the French revolution.

The conquests and military achievements of the Iroquois were commensurate with their martial ardor, their thirst for glory, their great courage, their invincible perseverance, and their political talents. Their military excursions were extended as far north as Hudson's Bay. The Mississippi did not form their western limits; their power was felt in the most southern and eastern extremities of the United States. Their wars have been supposed, by one writer, to have been carried near to the Isthmus of Darien.‡ And Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, which was probably written in 1698, describes them as terrible

* Colden, vol. 2. p. 120.

† Belsham.

‡ Rogers's America, p. 209.

cannibals to the westward, who have destroyed no less than two millions of other savages.*

The ostensible causes of war among the Indians were like many of those of civilized nations; controversies about limits, violations of the rights of embassy, individual or national wrongs: And the real and latent reasons were generally the same; the enlargement of territory, the extension of dominion, the gratification of cupidity, and the acquisition of glory. According to a late traveler, a war has existed for two centuries between the Sioux and the Chippewas.† For an infraction of the rights of the calumet, the Confederates carried on a war of thirty years against the Choctaws.‡ For a violation of the game laws of the hunting nations, in not leaving a certain number of male and female beavers in each pond, they subdued and nearly destroyed the Illinois;§ and they appeared to have accurate notions of the rights of belligerents over contraband articles; for they considered all military implements carried to an enemy as liable to seizure; but they went farther, and, conceiving this conduct a just ground of war, treated the persons supplying their enemies, as enemies, and devoted them to death. But the commerce in furs and peltries, produced by their intercourse with the Europeans, introduced a prolific source of contention among them, and operated like opening the box of Pandora. Those articles were eagerly sought after by the whites, and the red men were equally desirous of possessing iron, arms, useful tools, cloths, and the other accommodations

* Roger's America, p. 728.

† Smith's New York, p. 52.

‡ Pike's Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi, &c., p. 64.

§ See Garangula's Speech, in Appendix, No. 1.

of civilized life. Before the arrival of the Europeans, furs were only esteemed for their use as clothing; but when the demand increased, and an exchange of valuable articles took place, it became extremely important to occupy the most productive hunting grounds, and to monopolize the best and the most furs. And it was sometimes the policy of the French to divert the attacks of the Iroquois from the nations with whom they traded, by instigating them to hostilities against the Southern Indians friendly to the English colonies; and at other times they excited wars between their northern allies and the Iroquois, in order to prevent the former from trading with the English, which they preferred, because they could get their goods cheaper. On the other hand, the English entangled the Confederates in all their hostilities with the French and their Indian allies. The commerce in furs and peltries was deemed so valuable that no exertion or expense was spared in order to affect a monopoly. The goods of the English were so eagerly sought after by the Indians, and so much preferred to those of the French, that the latter were compelled to procure them from the colony of New York; from which they were conveyed to Montreal, and distributed among the savages. It was then evident, that the English had it in their power, not only to undersell the French, but by a total interdiction of those supplies, to expel them from the trade. The enlightened policy of Gov. Burnet dictated the most energetic steps, and a colonial law was passed for the purpose.* He also established trading houses, and erected a fort at Oswego, at the entrance of Onondaga river into Lake

* Colder's Five Nations, vol. 1., p. 95. Smith's New York, p. 224, &c. Herriot's Canada, p. 174

Ontario. This position was judiciously selected, not only on account of its water communication with a great part of the Iroquois territory, but for the facility with which articles could be transported to and from Schenectady; there being but three portages in the whole route, two of which were very short. It had another decided advantage. The Indian navigation of the lakes being in canoes, is necessarily along the coast. The southern side of Lake Ontario affording a much more secure route than the northern, all the Indians who came from the great lakes, would, on their way to Canada, have to pass close by the English establishment, where they could be supplied at a cheaper rate, and at a less distance. Oswego then became one great emporium of the fur trade; and its ruins now proclaim the vestiges of its former prosperity. The French perceived all the consequences of those measures, and they immediately rebuilt the fort at Niagara, in order that they might have a commercial establishment two hundred miles nearer to the western Indians than that at Oswego. Having previously occupied the mouth of the Lake Ontario by Fort Frontenac, the fort at Niagara now gave them a decided advantage in point of position. The act passed by Gov. Burnet's recommendation was, under the influence of a pernicious policy, repealed by the British king. The Iroquois had adopted a determined resolution to exterminate the French. "Above these thirty years," says La Hontan, "their ancient counsellors have still remonstrated to the warriors of the Five Nations, that it was expedient to cut off all the savage nations of Canada, in order to ruin the commerce of the French, and after that to dislodge them from the continent. With this view they have carried the war above four or five hundred

leagues off their country, after the destroying of several different nations."* Charlevoix was impressed with the same opinion: "The Iroquois," says he, "are desirous of exercising a species of domination over the whole of this great continent, and to render themselves the sole masters of its commerce."† Finding the auxiliary efforts of the English rendered abortive, their rage and fury increased, and the terror of their arms was extended accordingly. At a subsequent period, they appeared to entertain different and more enlightened views on this subject. They duly appreciated the policy of averting the total destruction of either European power; and several instances could be pointed out, by which it could be demonstrated that the balance of power, formerly the subject of so much speculation among the statesmen of Europe, was thoroughly understood by the Confederates in their negotiations and intercourse with the French and English colonies.

To describe the military enterprises of this people, would be to delineate the progress of a tornado or an earthquake.‡

"Wide-wasting Death, up to the ribs in blood, with giant stroke
widow'd the nations."§

Destruction followed their footsteps, and whole nations subdued, exterminated, rendered tributary, expelled from their country, or mersed in their conquerors, declare the superiority and the terror of their arms. When Cham-

* Vol. 1. p. 270.

† Charlevoix's *Histoire Generale de la Nouvelle France*, vol. 1. b. 11. p. 480.

‡ For the military exploits of the Iroquois, generally speaking, see De la Potheire, La Hontan, Charlevoix, Colden, Smith, and Herriot.

§ Cumberland's Battle of Hastings.

plain arrived in Canada, in 1603, he found them at war with the Hurons and Algonkins. He took part and headed three expeditions against them; in two of which he was successful, but in the last he was repulsed. This unjust and impolitic interference, laid the foundation of continual wars between the French and the Confederates. The Dutch, on the contrary, entered into an alliance with them on their first settlement of the country, which continued without interruption; and on the surrender of New York to the English in 1664, Carteret, one of the commissioners, was sent to subdue the Dutch at Fort Orange, now Albany; which having effected, he had a conference with the Confederates, and entered into a league of friendship; which continued without violation on either part.*

The conquests of the Iroquois, previous to the discovery of America, are only known to us through the imperfect channels of traditions; but it is well authenticated, that since that memorable era, they exterminated the nation of the Eries or Erigas, on the south side of Lake Erie, which has given a name to that lake. They nearly extirpated the Andastez and the Chouanons; they conquered the Hurons, and drove them and their allies, the Ottawas, among the Sioux, on the head waters of the Mississippi, "where they separated themselves into bands, and proclaimed, wherever they went, the terror of the Iroquois."† They also subdued the Illinois, the Miamies, the Algonkins, the Delawares, the Shawanese, and several tribes of the Abenakis. After the Iroquois had defeated the Hurons, in a dreadful battle fought near Quebec, the Neper-

* Colden, vol. 1, p. 34. Smith's New York, p. 3. 31. Douglass's Summary, vol. 2. p. 243.

† Herriot, p. 77.

ceneans, who lived upon the St. Lawrence, fled to Hudson's Bay to avoid their fury. In 1649, they destroyed two Huron villages, and dispersed the Nation; and afterward they destroyed another village of six hundred families. Two villages presented themselves to the Confederates, and lived with them. "The dread of the Iroquois," says the historian, "had such an effect upon all the other nations, that the borders of the river Ontaouis, which were long thickly peopled, became almost deserted, without its ever being known what became of the greater part of the inhabitants."* The Illinois fled to the westward, after being attacked by the Confederates, and did not return until a general peace; and were permitted in 1760, by the Confederates, to settle in the country between the Wabash and the Scioto rivers.† The banks of Lake Superior were lined with Algonkins, who sought an asylum from the Five Nations; they also harassed all the northern Indians, as far as Hudson's Bay, and they even attacked the nations on the Missouri. When La Salle was among the Natchez, in 1683, he saw a party of that people, who had been on an expedition against the Iroquois.‡ Smith, the founder of Virginia, in an expedition up the bay of Chesapeake, in 1608, met a war party of the Confederates, then going to attack their enemies.§ They were at peace with the Cowetas or Creeks, but they warred against the Catawbias, the Cherokees, and almost all the southern In-

* Herriot, p. 70.

† Pownall's Topographical Description of such Parts of North America as are described in Evans' Map, 1776, p. 42.

‡ Tontis' Account of De la Salle's Last Expedition. Printed in London from the French in 1698, p. 112.

§ Jefferson's Notes, 310, &c.

dians.* The two former sent deputies to Albany, where they effected a peace through the mediation of the English. In a word, the Confederates were, with a few exceptions, the conquerors and masters of all the Indian nations east of the Mississippi. Such was the terror of the nations, that when a single Mohawk appeared on the hills of New England, the fearful spectacle spread pain and terror, and flight was the only refuge from death.† Charlevoix mentions a singular instance of this terrific ascendancy: Ten or twelve Ottawas, being pursued by a party of Iroquois, endeavored to pass over to Goat Island, on the Niagara River, in a canoe; they were swept down the cataract; and, as it appeared, preferred, to the sword of their enemies,‡

—— The vast immeasurable abyss,
 Outrageous as a sea, dark, wasteful, wild,
 Up from the bottom turn'd.§

In consequence of their sovereignty over the other nations, the Confederates exercised a proprietary right in their lands. In 1742, they granted to the province of Pennsylvania certain lands on the west side of the Susquehannah, having formerly done so on the east side.|| In 1744, they released to Maryland and Virginia certain lands claimed by them in those colonies; and they declared at this treaty, that they had conquered the several nations living on the Susquehannah and Patowmac rivers,

* Adair's History of the Indians.

† Colden, vol. 1, p. 3.

‡ Charlevoix, vol. 3, let, 15, p. 234.

§ Milton's Paradise Lost, b. 7.

|| Colden, vol. 2, p. 20.

and on the back of the Great Mountains in Virginia.* In 1754, a number of the inhabitants of Connecticut purchased of them a large tract of land west of the river Delaware, and from thence spreading over the east and west branches of the Susquehannah River.† In 1768, they gave a deed to William Trent and others, for land between the Ohio and Monongahela. They claimed and sold the land on the north side of Kentucky River.‡ In 1768, at a treaty held at Fort Stanwix with Sir William Johnson, the line of property, as it was commonly denominated, was settled, marking out the boundary between the English colonies and the territory of the Confederates.§

The vicinity of the Confederates was fortunate for the colony of New York. They served as an effectual shield against the hostile incursions of the French, and their savage allies. Their war with the French began with Champlain, and continued, with few intervals, until the treaty of Utrecht, which confirmed the surrender of Canada, Nova Scotia, and Acadia, to Great Britain. For near a century and a half they maintained a war against the French possessions in Louisiana and Canada, sometimes alone, and sometimes in conjunction with the English colonies. During this eventful period, they often maintained a proud superiority; always an honorable resistance; and no vicissitude of fortune, or visitation of calamity, could ever compel them to descend from the elevated ground which they occupied in their own estima-

* Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. 7, p. 171, &c.

† Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. 7, p. 231.

‡ Holmes's Annals, vol. 2, p. 287. Jefferson's Notes, p. 296.

§ Jefferson's Notes, p. 296.

tion, and in the opinion of the nations, Their expeditions into Canada were frequent; wherever they marched terror and desolation composed their train.

“And Vengeance, striding from his grisly den,
With fell impatience grinds his iron teeth;
And Massacre, unchidden, cloy's his famine,
And quaffs the blood of nations.*

In 1683, M. Delabarre, the Governor-General of Canada, marched with an army against the cantons. He landed near Oswego, but finding himself incompetent to meet the enemy, he instituted a negociation, and demanded a conference. On this occasion, Garangula, an Onondaga chief, attended in behalf of his country, and made the celebrated reply to M. Delabarre which I shall presently notice. The French retired from the country with disgrace. The second general expedition was undertaken in 1687, by M. Lenonville, Governor-General. He had treacherously seized several of their chiefs, and sent them to the galleys in France. He was at the head of an army exceeding two thousand men. He landed in Irondequoit Bay, and when near a village of the Senecas, was attacked by five hundred, and would have been defeated, if his Indian allies had not rallied and repulsed the enemy. After destroying some provisions, and burning some villages, he retired without any acquisition of laurels. The place on which this battle was fought has been within a few years owned by Judge Porter, of Grand Niagara. On ploughing the land, three hundred hatchets, and upward of three thousand pounds of old iron were found, being more than sufficient to defray the expense of clearing it.

* Glover's Baodicea.

The Confederates, in a year's time, compelled their enemies to make peace, and to restore their chiefs. It was with the French the only escape from destruction. Great bodies of the Confederates threatened Montreal, and their canoes covered the Great Lakes. They shut up the French in forts, and would have conquered the whole of Canada if they had understood the art of attacking fortified places. This peace was soon disturbed by the artifices of Kondiaronk, a Huron chief; and the Iroquois made an irruption on the Island of Montreal with one thousand two hundred men, destroying everything before them.

The third and last grand expedition against the Confederates, was undertaken in 1697, by the Count De Frontenac; the ablest and bravest governor that the French ever had in Canada. He landed at Oswego, with a powerful force, and marched to the Onondaga Lake; he found their principal village burnt and abandoned. He sent seven hundred men to destroy the Oneida castle, who took a few prisoners. An Onondaga chief, upwards of one hundred years old, was captured in the woods, and abandoned to the fury of the French savages. After sustaining the most horrid tortures, with more than stoical fortitude, the only complaint he was heard to utter was when one of them, actuated by compassion, or probably by rage, stabbed him repeatedly with a knife, in order to put a speedy end to his existence, "Thou ought not," said he, "to abridge my life, that thou might have time to learn to die like a man. For my own part, I die contented, because I know no meanness with which to reproach myself." After this tragedy, the Count thought it prudent to retire with his army; and he probably would have fallen a victim to his

temerity, if the Senecas had not been kept at home, from a false report that they were to be attacked at the same time by the Ottawas.

After the general peace in 1762, an attempt was made by a number of the western Indians to destroy the British colonies. The Senecas were involved in this war, but in 1764, Sir William Johnson, styling himself his Majesty's sole agent and superintendent of Indian affairs for the northern parts of North America, and colonel of the Six United Nations, their allies and dependents, agreed to preliminary articles of peace with them. In this treaty, the Senecas ceded the carrying place at Niagara to Great Britain. The Confederates remained in a state of peace, until the commencement of the Revolutionary War.* On the 19th of June, 1775, the Oneidas and some other Indians, sent to the convention of Massachusetts a speech, declaring their neutrality; stating that they could not find nor recollect in the traditions of their ancestors, a paralled case; and saying, "As we have declared for peace, we desire you would not apply to our Indian brethren in New England for assistance. Let us Indians be all of one mind, and live with one another; and you white people settle your own disputes betwixt yourselves.† These good dispositions did not long continue with most of the Indian nations; all within the reach of British blandishments and presents were prevailed upon to take up the hatchet. It is calculated that twelve thousand six hundred and ninety Indian warriors were employed by the British during the Revolutionary War, of which one thousand five hundred

* Thomas Mante's History of the late war in North America &c, printed, London, 1772. p. 503.

† Williams' History of Vermont, vol. 2., p. 440.

and eighty were Iroquois.* The influence of Sir William Johnson over the savages was transmitted to his son, who was most successful in alluring them into the views of Great Britain. "A great war feast was made by him on the occasion, in which, according to the horrid phraseology of these barbarians, they were invited to banquet upon a Bostonian, and to drink his blood."†

General Burgoyne made a speech to the Indians on the 21st of June, 1777, urging them to hostilities, and stating "his satisfaction at the general conduct of the Indian tribes, from the beginning of the troubles in America." An old Iroquois chief answered, "We have been tried and tempted by the Bostonians, but we have loved our father, and our hatchets have been sharpened on our affections. In proof of the sincerity of our professions, our whole villages, able to go to war, are come forth; the old and infirm, our infants and our wives, alone remain at home."‡ They realized their professions. The whole Confederacy, except a little more than half of the Oneidas, took up arms against us. They hung like the scythe of death upon the rear of our settlements, and their deeds are inscribed, with the scalping-knife and the tomahawk, in characters of blood, on the fields of Wyoming and Cherry Valley, and on the banks of the Mohawk.

It became necessary that the Confederates should receive a signal chastisement for their barbarous and cruel incursions; and accordingly, general Sullivan, with an army of nearly five thousand men, marched into their country in the year 1779. Near Newtown, in the present

* Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 10, p. 120, &c.

† Belsham.

‡ Williams, as before quoted, vol. 2.

county of Tioga, he defeated them, and drove them from their fortifications ; he continued his march between the Cayuga and Seneca Lakes, and through their territory, as far as the Genesee River, destroying their orchards, corn-fields, and forty villages ; the largest of which contained one hundred and twenty-eight houses. This expedition was nearly the finishing blow to savage cruelty and insolence ; their habitations were destroyed ; their provinces laid waste ; they were driven from their country, and were compelled to take refuge under the cannon of Niagara ; and their hostility terminated with the pacification with Great Britain.

The Confederates were as celebrated for their eloquence, as for their military skill and political wisdom. Popular, or free governments have, in all ages, been the congenial soil of oratory. And it is, indeed, all important in institutions merely advisory ; where persuasion must supply the place of coercion ; where there is no magistrate to execute, no military to compel ; and where the only sanction of law is the controlling power of public opinion. Eloquence being, therefore, considered so essential, must always be a great standard of personal merit, a certain road to popular favor, and an universal passport to public honors. These combined inducements operated with powerful force on the mind of the Indian ; and there is little doubt but that oratory was studied with as much care and application among the Confederates, as it was in the stormy democracies of the eastern hemisphere. I do not pretend to assert that there were, as at Athens and Rome, established schools and professional teachers for the purpose ; but I say that it was an attainment to which they devoted themselves, and to which they bent the whole

force of their faculties. Their models of eloquence were to be found, not in books, but in the living orators of their local and national assemblies; their children, at an early period of life, attended their councils fires, in order to observe the passing scenes, and to receive the lessons of wisdom. Their rich and vivid imagery was drawn from the sublime scenery of nature, and their ideas were derived from the laborious operations of their own minds, and from the experience and wisdom of their ancient sages.

The most remarkable difference existed between the Confederates and the other Indian nations with respect to eloquence. You may search in vain in the records and writings of the past, or in events of the present times, for a single model of eloquence among the Algonkins, the Abenakis, the Delawares, the Shawanese, or any other nation of Indians, except the Iroquois. The few scintillations of intellectual light—the faint glimmerings of genius, which are sometimes to be found in their speeches, are evidently derivative, and borrowed from the Confederates.

Considering the interpreters who have undertaken to give the meaning of Indian speeches, it is not a little surprising that some of them should approach so near to perfection. The major part of the interpreters were illiterate persons, sent among them to conciliate their favor, by making useful or ornamental implements; or they were prisoners who learnt the Indian language during their captivity. The Reverend Mr. Kirkland, a missionary among the Oneidas, and sometimes a public interpreter, was indeed a man of liberal education; but those who have seen him officiate at public treaties must recollect how incompetent he was to infuse the fire of Indian oratory into his expressions; how he labored for words,

and how feeble and inelegant his language. Oral is more difficult than written interpretation or translation. In the latter case, there is no pressure of time, and we have ample opportunity to weigh the most suitable words, to select the most elegant expressions, and to fathom the sense of the author ; but in the former case, we are called upon to act immediately ; no time for deliberation is allowed ; and the first ideas that occur must be pressed into the service of the interpreter. At an ancient treaty, a female captive officiated in that capacity ; and at a treaty held in 1722, at Albany, the speeches of the Indians were first rendered into Dutch, and then translated into English.* I except from these remarks, the speech of the Onondaga chief, Garangula, to M. Delabarre, delivered on the occasion which I have before mentioned. This was interpreted by Monsieur Le Maine, a French Jesuit, and recorded on the spot by Baron La Hontan—men of enlightened and cultivated minds, from whom it has been borrowed by Colden, Smith, Herriot, Trumbull, and Williams. I believe it to be impossible to find, in all the effusions of ancient or modern oratory, a speech more appropriate and more convincing. Under the veil of respectful profession it conveys the most biting irony ; and while it abounds with rich and splendid imagery, it contains the most solid reasoning. I place it in the same rank with the celebrated speech of Logan ; and I cannot but express astonishment at the conduct of two respectable writers, who have represented this interesting interview, and this sublime display of intellectual power, as “a scold between the French generals and an old Indian.”†

* Oldmixon's British Empire, vol. 1. p. 254.

† Colden and Smith.

On the 9th of February, 1690, as we are informed by the tradition of the inhabitants, although history has fixed it on the 8th, the town of Schenectady, which then consisted of a church and forty-three houses, was surprised by a party of French and Indians from Canada; a dreadful scene of conflagration and massacre ensued; the greater part of the inhabitants were killed or made prisoners; those that escaped fled naked toward Albany, in a deep snow that fell that very night, and providentially met sleighs from that place, which returned immediately with them. This proceeding struck terror into the inhabitants of Albany, who were about to abandon the country in despair and consternation. On this occasion several of the Mohawk chiefs went to Albany, to make the customary speech of condolence, and to animate to honorable exertion. Their speech is preserved in the first volume of Colden's History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada; and even at this distant period, it is impossible to read it without sensibility, without respecting its affectionate sympathy, and admiring its magnanimous spirit, and without ranking it among the most respectable models of eloquence which history affords.*

In 1777 and 1778, an association of our own citizens, in violation of law, contracted with the Six Nations for the greater part of their territory, on a lease of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, at an insignificant annual rent. These proceedings were, on the motion of the President of this Society,† declared void in March, 1788, by the authorities of the State; and when their true character was made known to the Indians—when they found that

* Appendix, No. 2.

† Egbert Benson, Esq.

their country, in which were interred the bones of their ancestors, was sacrificed to the overreaching cupidity of unauthorized speculators, the greatest anxiety and consternation prevailed among them. The Senecas and Cayugas repaired to Albany to confer with the governor, but having no speaker at that time of sufficient eminence and talents for the important occasion, they employed Good Peter, or Domine Peter, the Cicero of the Six Nations, to be their orator, and he addressed the governor and other commissioners in a speech of great length and ability. It was replete with figurative language: the topics were selected with great art and judgment. I took down the speech from the mouth of the interpreter, and notwithstanding the imperfect interpretation of Mr. Kirksland, consider it a rare specimen of Indian eloquence.

Within a few years, an extraordinary orator has risen among the Senecas, his real name is Saguoaha, but he is commonly called Red Jacket. Without the advantages of illustrious descent, and with no extraordinary talents for war, he has attained the first distinctions in the nation, by the force of his eloquence. His predecessor in the honors of the nation, was a celebrated chief, denominated The Cornplanter. Having lost the confidence of his countrymen, in order to retrieve his former standing, as it is supposed, he persuaded his brother to announce himself as a prophet, or messenger from Heaven, sent to redeem the fallen fortunes of the Indian race. The superstition of the savages cherished the impostor, and he has acquired such an ascendancy, as to prevail upon the Onondagas, formerly the most drunken and profligate of the Six Nations, to abstain entirely from spirituous liquors,

and to observe the laws of morality in other respects. He has obtained the same ascendancy among the Confederates, as another impostor had acquired among the Shawanese, and other western Indians ; and like him, he has also employed his influence for evil, as well as for good purposes. The Indians universally believe in witchcraft ; the prophet inculcated this superstition, and proceeded, through the instrumentality of conjurers selected by himself, to designate the offenders, who were accordingly sentenced to death ; and the unhappy objects would have been actually executed, if the magistrates at Oneida and the officers of the garrison at Niagara had not interfered. This was considered an artful expedient to render his enemies the objects of general abhorrence, if not the victims of an ignominious death. Emboldened by success, he proceeded, finally, to execute the views of his brother, and Red Jacket was publicly denounced at a great council of Indians, held at Buffalo Creek, and was put upon his trial. At this crisis he well knew that the future color of his life depended upon the powers of his mind. He spoke in his defence for near three hours. The iron brow of superstition relented under the magic of his eloquence ; he declared the prophet an impostor and a cheat. He prevailed : the Indians divided, and a small majority appeared in his favor. Perhaps the annals of history cannot furnish a more conspicuous instance of the triumph and power of oratory, in a barbarous nation, devoted to superstition, and looking up to the accuser as a delegated minister of the Almighty.

I am well aware that the speech of Logan will be triumphantly quoted against me, and that it will be said that the most splendid exhibition of Indian eloquence may be

found out of the pale of the Six Nations. I fully subscribe to the eulogium of Mr. Jefferson, when he says, "I may challenge the whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, and of any more eminent orator, if Europe has furnished more eminent, to produce a single passage superior to the speech of Logan." But let it be remembered that Logan was a Mingo chief, the second son of Shikellemus, a celebrated Cayuga chief, and consequently belonged to the Confederates, although he did not live in their patrimonial territory. The Iroquois had sent out several colonies; one of them was settled at Sandusky, and was estimated to contain 300 warriors in 1768. Another was established on a branch of the Scioto, and had 60 warriors in 1779.*

To this I may add the testimony of Charlevoix, who may be justly placed in the first rank of able and learned writers on American affairs, and who entertained all the prejudices of his country against the Confederacy. Speaking of Joncaire, who had been adopted by the Senecas, and who had obtained their consent for the establishment of a fort at Niagara, he says, "Il parla avec tout l'esprit d'un François, qui en a beaucoup et la plus sublime éloquence Iroquoise." He spoke with all the energetic spirit of a Frenchman, and with the most sublime eloquence of an Iroquois.†

It cannot, I presume, be doubted, but that the Confederates were a peculiar and extraordinary people, contradistinguished from the mass of the Indian nations by great

* Jefferson's Notes.

† Charlevoix, letter 15, p. 243. Quere. Is this the Captain Joncaire who is mentioned in General (then Colonel) Washington's journal of his mission to the Ohio? See Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. 2, note 1.

attainments in polity, in government, in negotiation, in eloquence, and in war. La Hontan asserts that "they are of a larger stature, and withal, more valiant and cunning than the other nations."* Charlevoix derives their name of Agonnonsoni, from their superior skill and taste in architecture.† The perspicacious and philosophical Pennant, after fully weighing their character, qualities, and physical conformation, pronounced them the descendants of the Tschutski, who reside on a peninsula which forms the most north-easterly part of Asia, who are a free and brave race, and in size and figure superior to every neighboring nation. The Russians have never been able to effect their conquest. They cherish a high sense of liberty, constantly refuse to pay tribute, and are supposed to have sprung from that fine race of Tartars, the Kabardinski, or inhabitants of Kabarda.‡

But there is a striking discrimination between this nation and the great body of the Indian tribes, which remains to be mentioned. Charlevoix has the singular merit of having rejected the common mode of ascertaining the identity of national origin, from a coincidence in customs and manners, and of having pointed out a similarity of language as the best and the surest criterion. As far back as La Hontan, whose voyages were published in 1703, and who was well acquainted with the Indian languages, it was understood by him, that there were but two mother tongues, the Huron and the Algonkin, in the whole extent of Canada, as far west as the Mississippi; and in a list which he gives of the Indian nations, it appears that they

* Vol. 2, p. 4.

† Charlevoix, vol. 1, b. 6, p. 271.

‡ Pennant's Arctic Zoology, vol. 1, p. 181, 186, 262.

all spoke the Algonkin language in different dialects, except the Hurons and the Confederates ; the difference between whose languages he considers as not greater than that between the Norman and the French. This opinion has been supported and confirmed by the concurring testimony of Carver, Charlevoix, Rogers, Barton, Edwards, Mackenzie, and Pike, with these qualifications, that the Sioux, or Naudowessies, and the Assiniboils, together with many nations of Indians to the west of the Mississippi, speak a distinct original language ; and it is not perfectly settled, whether the Creeks, and the other southern Indians in their vicinity, use a parent language ; or under which of the three great parent ones theirs must be classed. Carver speaks of the Chippewa ; Edwards, of the Mohegan ; Barton, of the Delaware ; Rogers, of the Ottaway, as the most prevailing language in North America ; but they all agree in the similarity. Dr. Edwards asserts, that the language of the Delawares, in Pennsylvania ; of the Penobscots, bordering on Nova Scotia ; of the Indians of St. Francis, in Canada ; of the Shawanese, on the Ohio ; of the Chippewas, at the westward of Lake Huron ; of the Ottawas, Nanticockes, Munsees, Minonionees, Misiuagues, Sasskies, Ottagamies, Killestones, Mipegois, Algonkins, Winnebagoes, and of the several tribes in New England, are radically the same ; and the variations are to be accounted for from the want of letters, and of communication. On the other hand, that the Confederates and the Hurons were originally of the same stock, may be inferred, not only from the sameness of their language, but from their division into similar tribes.* From this, we

* Trumbull's Connecticut, vol. 1, p. 43. Henry's Travels in Canada, p. 250, 299, 325. Carver's Travels, p. 170. Mackenzie's Voya-

may rationally conclude, that those nations were descended from an Asiatic stock, radically different from that of the great body of Indians who were spread over North America; and that the superior qualities of the Iroquois may be ascribed, as well to the superiority of their origin, as to the advantages of position, the maxims of policy, and the principles of education, which distinguished them from the other red inhabitants of this western world. And they were, indeed, at all times ready and willing to cherish the sentiment of exaltation which they felt; and believing that they excelled the rest of mankind, they called themselves *Ongue-Honwe*, that is, men surpassing all others.*

It is extremely difficult to speak, with any precision, of the ancient population of the Indian nations. The Powhatan confederacy, or empire, as it was called, contained one inhabitant for every square mile; and the proportion of warriors to the whole number of inhabitants was three to ten.† If this is to afford a just rule for estimating the Confederates, it would be easy to ascertain their number, and to adjust the relative proportion of their fighting men. Supposing their patrimonial or dwelling country to be three hundred miles in length, and one hundred in breadth, the whole number of square miles would be thirty thou-

ges, p. 280. Charlevoix, vol. 3, Letters 11th and 12th. Jeffery's Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions in North and South America, p. 45, 50. Rogers's North America, p. 246. Barton's Views, p. 470. Pike's Expedition, p. 65. Edwards' Observations on the Language of the Muhhekanew Indians. La Hontan's New Voyages, vol. 1, p. 270, vol. 2, p. 287.

* Colden, vol. 1, p. 2.

† Jefferson's Notes, p. 141, &c.

sand ; and the number of souls the same.* Some writers state the number of their warriors, at the first European settlement, to be fifteen thousand, which would make a population of fifty thousand. La Hontan says, that each village, or canton, contained about fourteen thousand souls ; that is, one thousand five hundred that bear arms, two thousand superannuated men, four thousand women, two thousand maids, and four thousand children ; though, indeed, some say, that each village has not above ten or eleven thousand souls. On the first statement they would have seven thousand five hundred, and on the last about five thousand three hundred and sixty fighting men.

Col. Coursey, an agent of Virginia, had in 1677 a conference with the Five Nations at Albany. The number of warriors was estimated, at that time and place, as follows:—

Mohawks,	-	-	-	-	-	300
Oneidas,	-	-	-	-	-	200
Onondagas,	-	-	-	-	-	350
Cayugas,	-	-	-	-	-	300
Senecas,	-	-	-	-	-	1,000

Total, 2,150

which would make the whole population near seven thousand two hundred.†

* On this subject see Trumbull's History of the United States, vol. 1, p. 30, &c. Williams's Vermont, vol. 1, p. 215, &c. Douglass's Summary, vol. 1, p. 185. Mass. Historical Society, vol. 5, p. 13, 16, 23, &c. Mass. Historical Society, vol. 10, p. 122, &c. Morse's Gazetteer of the Six Nations. La Hontan, vol. 1, p. 23, &c. Jefferson's Notes, p. 151. Holmes' American Annals, vol. 1, p. 45 ; vol. 2, p. 137.

† Vide Chalmer's Political Annals, p. 606, which contains the journey of Wentworth and Greenshulp, from Albany to the Five Nations, begun 28th May, 1677, and ended 14th July following. The Mohawks had four towns and one village, containing only one hundred houses. The Oneidas had one town, containing one hundred houses.

Smith says, that in 1756, the whole number of fighting men was about one thousand two hundred. Douglass says, that in 1760 it was one thousand five hundred. In the first case, the whole population would be four thousand; and in the last, five thousand.

In 1764, Col. Bouquet, from the information of a French trader, stated the whole number of inhabitants to be one thousand five hundred and fifty. Captain Hutchins, who visited most of the Indian nations for the express purpose of learning their number, represents them to be two thousand one hundred and twenty in 1768; and Dodge, an Indian trader, says, that in 1779 they were one thousand six hundred. These three estimates are taken from Jefferson's Notes on Virginia; and, although they apparently relate to the whole population, yet I am persuaded that the statements were only intended to embrace the number of warriors.

During the revolutionary war, the British had in their service, according to the calculation of a British agent,

Mohawks,	-	-	-	-	-	300
Oneidas,	-	-	-	-	-	150
Tuscaroras,	-	-	-	-	-	200
Onondagas,	-	-	-	-	-	300
Cayugas,	-	-	-	-	-	230
Senecas,	-	-	-	-	-	400

Total, 1,580

The Onondagas, one town, one hundred and forty houses, and one village, twenty-four houses. The Cayugas, three towns of about one hundred houses in all. The Senecas, four towns, containing three hundred and twenty-four houses. The warriors the same precisely as in Col. Coursey's statement. (Cours. p. 21,) In the whole, seven hundred and eighty-four houses; which would make nearly three warriors and ten inhabitants for each house.

If to these we add two hundred and twenty warriors who adhered to the United States, the whole number of fighting men would be one thousand eight hundred.

In 1783, Mr. Kirkland, the missionary, estimated the number of warriors in the Seneca nation, at six hundred. This would make the whole population two thousand ; and as the Senecas then composed nearly one half of the whole Confederacy, the fighting men would be about one thousand two hundred, and the total number of inhabitants, upwards of four thousand. In 1790, he calculated the whole population of the Confederacy, including those who reside on Grand River in Canada, and the Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians, to be six thousand three hundred and thirty. This would make the number of warriors near one thousand nine hundred.

In 1794, on the division of an annuity of four thousand five hundred dollars, given to them by the United States, their number was ascertained with considerable precision ; each individual in the Confederacy (except those residing in the British dominions) receiving an equal share.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

BRITISH LINES.

Mohawks,	-	-	-	-	-	300
Oneidas,	-	-	-	628	-	460
Cayugas,	-	-	-	40	-	—
Onondagas,	-	-	-	450	-	760
Tuscaroras,	-	-	-	400		
Senecas,	-	-	-	1780		
				<hr/> 3298		
				760		
				<hr/>		

Total, 4,058

The Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians are not includ-

ed. This would make the number of fighting men one thousand three hundred and fifty-two.

These various estimates evince the great uncertainty prevailing on this subject. While La Hontan exaggerates the population of the Confederacy, Smith evidently underrates it. We know that in their wars they often sent out considerable armies. They attacked the Island of Montreal with one thousand two hundred men; and in 1683, one thousand marched, at one time, against the Ottagamies. The first was in 1689, twelve years after Col. Coursey's estimate. Supposing that one thousand two hundred warriors were at that time at home, and otherwise employed, the whole number would then be about two thousand four hundred; which show a considerable coincidence between the two statements. On one point there is, however, no uncertainty. Ever since the men of Europe landed on the shores of America, there has been a diminution of the number of Aborigines; sometimes rapid, at other times gradual. The present condition of the Confederates furnishes an admonitory lesson to human pride; and adds another proof to the many on record, that nations, like individuals, are destined by Providence to dissolution. Their patrimonial estates, their ancient dwelling lands, are now crowded with a white population, excepting some reservations in the Oneida, Onondaga, and Seneca countries. The Mohawks abandoned their country during the war; and the Cayugas have since the peace. A remnant of the Tuscaroras reside on three miles square, near the Niagara River, on lands given to them by the Senecas and the Holland Land Company. The Oneida Reservation does not contain more than ten thousand acres; and the Onondaga is still smaller. The Senecas

have their principal settlement at Buffalo Creek. Their reservations are extensive and valuable, containing more than one hundred and sixty thousand acres ; and they possess upwards of one hundred thousand dollars in the stock of the late Bank of the United States.

The Six Nations have lost their high character and elevated standing. They are, in general, addicted to idleness and drunkenness ; the remnant of their eloquence and military spirit, as well as national strength, is to be found only among the Senecas. Their ancient men, who have witnessed the former glory and prosperity of their country, and who have heard from the mouths of their ancestors, the heroic achievements of their countrymen, weep like infants, when they speak of the fallen condition of the nation. They, however, derive some consolation from a prophecy of ancient origin and universal currency among them, that the man of America will, at some future time, regain his ancient ascendancy, and expel the man of Europe from this western hemisphere. This flattering and consolatory persuasion has restrained, in some degree, their vicious propensities ; has enabled the Seneca and Shawanese prophets to arrest in some tribes the use of intoxicating liquors, and has given birth, at different periods, to certain movements toward a general confederacy of the savages of North America. That they consider the white man an enemy and an intruder, who has expelled them from their country, is most certain ; and they cherish this antipathy with so much rancor, that when they abandon their settlements, they make it a rule never to disclose to him any mineral substances or springs which may redound to his convenience or advantage.

The causes of their degradation and diminution, are

principally to be found in their baneful communication with the man of Europe, which has contaminated their morals, destroyed their population, robbed them of their country, and deprived them of their national spirit. Indeed, when we consider, that the discovery and settlement of America, have exterminated millions of the red men, and entailed upon the sable inhabitants of Africa, endless and destructive wars, captivity, slavery and death, we have reason to shudder at the gloomy perspective, and to apprehend that, in the retributive justice of the Almighty, "there may be some hidden thunder in the stores of Heaven, red with uncommon wrath;"* some portentous cloud, pregnant with the elements of destruction, ready to burst upon European America, and to entail upon us those calamities which we have so wantonly and wickedly inflicted upon others.

A nation that derives its subsistence, principally, from the forest, cannot live in the vicinity of one that relies upon the products of the field. The clearing of the country drives off the wild beasts; and when the game fails, the hunter must starve, change his occupation, or retire from the approach of cultivation. The Savage has invariably preferred the last. The Mohawks were, at one period, the most numerous canton; but they soon became the smallest. This was on account of their propinquity to the whites; while the Senecas, who are most remote, are the most populous. There are two other causes which have contributed to the destruction of the Mohawks; their extreme ferocity, which distinguished them from the other cantons, and which exposed them to greater perils; and the early seduction of a part of their nation by the French,

* Addison's Cato.

who prevailed upon them to migrate to Canada. The scarcity of food has also been augmented by other causes, besides that of cultivating the ground. Formerly they killed for the sake of subsistence: the Europeans instigated them to kill for the sake of the furs and skins. The use of fire-arms has had the effect, by the explosion of powder, of frightening away the game; and at the same time, of enabling the savage to compass their destruction with greater facility, than by his ancient weapon, the bow and arrow, whose execution was less certain, and whose operation was less terrific.

The old Scythian propensity for wandering from place to place, and to make distant excursions, predominates among them. Some, after an absence of twenty years, have again shown themselves, while others never return.

Many of the Iroquois are amalgamated with the western Indians. In 1799, a colony of the Confederates, who had been brought up from their infancy under the Roman Catholic Missionaries, and instructed by them at a village within nine miles of Montreal, emigrated to the banks of the Saskatchewan River, beyond Lake Winnipeg.*

The endless and destructive wars in which they have been involved, have also been a principal cause of diminishing their population. The number of births among savage is always inferior to that among civilized nations, where subsistence is easier, and where the female sex are considered the companions, the friends, and the equals of man; and are associated and connected with him by the silken ties of choice and affection, not by the iron chains of compulsion and slavery. In times of war, the number of deaths among the Indians generally exceeded that of

* Mackenzie, vol. 1, p. 298.

the births; and the Iroquois, for the last fifty years, not having been able to execute to any great extent their system of adoption, have experienced a correspondent diminution. The manner of savage warfare is also peculiarly destructive. Among civilized nations, great armies are brought into the field at once; and a few years, and a great battle, decide the fortune of the war, and produce a peace. Among Indians, wars are carried on by small detachments, and in detail, and for a long time. Among the former they operate like amputation; a limb is cut off, and the remainder of the body lives; but with savages, they resemble a slow and wasting disease, which gradually undermines the vital principle, and destroys the whole system.

Before their acquaintance with the man of Europe they were visited by dreadful diseases, which depopulated whole countries. Just before the settlement of New England, some whole nations were swept off by a pestilence. The whites introduced that terrible enemy of barbarous nations, the small pox, as well in the north of Asia as in America. Kamschatka was very populous until the arrival of the Russians; a dreadful visitation of the small pox, in 1767, nearly exterminated its inhabitants.* In 1779, and 1780, the small pox spread among the Killistinoes, or Kanistenaux, and Chepewyans, "with a baneful rapidity that no flight could escape, and with a fatal effect that nothing could resist."† Nine-tenths of the northern Indians, so called by Hearne, were cut off by it.‡ In

* Pennant, vol. 1, p. 215.

† Mackenzie, vol. 1, p. 17.

‡ Hearne's Journey to the Northern Ocean, p. 178.

1670, this disease depopulated the north of Canada.* A whole nation, called the Attetramasues, were destroyed. The vicinity of the Confederates to the European settlements, and their constant intercourse, have exposed them continually to its visitations; and their method of cure being the same in all diseases, immersion in cold water after a vapor bath, has aggravated its ravages. Their imitation of the European dress, has also substituted a lighter mode of clothing in lieu of warm furs; by which, and their exposure to the elements, they are peculiarly subjected to consumptions and inflammatory complaints. Longevity is, however, by no means uncommon among them. In their settlements you see some very old people.

Need I add to this melancholy catalogue, the use of spirituous liquors, which has realized among them the fabulous effects of the Bohon Upas, which has been to them "the Hydra of calamities; the sevenfold death,"† and which has palsied all their energies, enfeebled their minds, destroyed their bodies, rendered them inferior to the beasts of the forest, and operated upon them as destructively as

"——— famine, war, or spotted pestilence,
Baneful as death, and horrible as hell."‡

At the treaty held in Lancaster in 1744, the Five Nations addressed the colonies of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, as follows: "We heartily recommend union and a good agreement between you our brethren. Never disagree, but preserve a strict friendship for one another; and thereby you, as well as we, will become the stronger. Our wise forefathers established amity and

* Jeffrey, before quoted, p. 110. Herriot, p. 132.

† Young's Revenge.

‡ Rowe's Jane Shore.

friendship among the Five Nations. This has made us formidable, and has given us great weight and authority with the neighboring nations. We are a powerful Confederacy; and by your observing the same means which our wise forefathers pursued, you will acquire fresh strength and power. Therefore, whatever befalls you, never fall out with one another.”* This ancient and cementing principle of union and fraternity, which has connected them in friendship, and which was the basis of their power and the pillar of their greatness, has been entirely driven from them. The fury of discord has blown her horn, and rendered them the prey of the most ferocious and unrelenting passions. Party, in all its forms and violence, rages among them with uncontrolled sway. Their nations are split up into fragments; the son is arrayed against the father; brother against brother; families against families; tribes against tribes; and canton against canton. They are divided into factions, religious, political and personal; Christian and Pagan; American and British; the followers of Cornplanter and Sagoua-Ha; of Skonadoi and Capt. Peter. The minister of destruction is hovering over them, and before the passing away of the present generation, not a single Iroquois will be seen in this State.

It would be an unpardonable omission not to mention, while treating on this subject, that there is every reason to believe, that previous to the occupancy of this country by the progenitors of the present nations of Indians, it was inhabited by a race of men much more populous and much further advanced in civilization. The numerous remains of ancient fortifications which are found in this country,

* Colden, vol. 2, p. 113.

commencing principally near the Onondaga River, and from thence spreading over the Military Tract, the Genesee country, and the lands of the Holland Land Company, over the territory adjoining the Ohio and its tributary streams, the country on Lake Erie, and extending even west of the Mississippi, demonstrate a population far exceeding that of the Indians when this country was first settled.

I have seen several of these works in the western parts of this State. There is a large one in the town of Onondaga, one in Pompey, and another in Manlius; one in Camillus, eight miles from Auburn; one in Scipio, six miles; another one mile, and one, half a mile from that village. Between the Seneca and Cayuga Lakes there are several; three within a few miles of each other. Near the village of Canadaigua there are three. In a word, they are scattered all over that country.*

* On the subject of these ancient fortifications, see Charlevoix, vol. 1. b. 11, p. 533. Charlevoix letter 23, vol. 3, p. 333. American Museum, vol. 6, p. 29, 233. Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. 4, p. 101, 107. Imlay's Kentucky, p. 379. Herriot's Canada, p. 14 to 26. Belknap's American Biography, vol. 1, p. 194-196. History of Virginia, anonymous, published in London, 1722, p. 149. Carver's Travels, p. 37. Volney's United States, p. 486. Barton's Medical and Physical Journal, vol. 1. part 1, p. 97. Ibid, part 2. p. 80. Ibid, vol. 2. part 1, p. 187. Adair's Indians, p. 377. New York Magazine, January, 1793, p. 23. Michaux's Travels to the Westward of the Alleghany Mountains in 1802, vol. 1. Columbian Magazine for 1787, vol. 1, No. 9. Shultz's Inland Voyage, vol. 1, p. 146. American Philosophical Transactions, vol. 6, p. 132. Medical Repository, 3d Hexade, vol. 2, No. 2, p. 146. Rogers's Concise Account of North America, p. 247. Harris's Tour in 1803, into the State of Ohio, p. 149, &c. Hubbard's Narrative of the Indian Wars in New England, p. 32, 106. Williamson on the Climate, &c. of America, p. 189.

These forts were, generally speaking, erected on the most commanding ground. The walls or breastworks were earthen. The ditches were on the exterior of the works. On some of the parapets, oak trees were to be seen, which, from the number of concentric circles, must have been standing one hundred and fifty, two hundred and sixty, and three hundred years ; and there were evident indications, not only that they had sprung up since the erection of those works, but that they were at least a second growth. The trenches were in some cases deep and wide, and in others shallow and narrow ; and the breastworks varied in altitude from three to eight feet. They sometimes had one, and sometimes two entrances, as was to be inferred from there being no ditch at those places. When the works were protected by a deep ravine, or a large stream of water, no ditch was to be seen. The areas of these forts varied from two to six acres, and the form was generally an irregular ellipsis, and in some of them fragments of earthenware and pulverized substances, supposed to have been originally human bones, were to be found.

These fortifications, thus diffused over the interior of our country, have been generally considered as surpassing the skill, patience and industry of the Indian race ; and various hypotheses have been advanced to prove them of European origin.

An American writer of no inconsiderable repute pronounced, some years ago, that the two forts at the confluence of the Muskingum and Ohio rivers, one covering forty and the other twenty acres, were erected by Ferdinand de Soto, who landed with one thousand men in Florida, in 1539, and penetrated a considerable distance into

the interior of the country. He allotted the large fort for the use of the Spanish army ; and after being extremely puzzled how to dispose of the small one in its vicinity, he at last assigned it to the swine, that generally, as he says, attended the Spaniards in those days ; being in his opinion very necessary, in order to prevent them from becoming estrays, and to protect them from the depredations of the Indians.

When two ancient forts, one containing six and the other three acres, were found near Lexington, in Kentucky, another theory was propounded, and it was supposed that they were erected by the descendants of the Welch colony, who are said to have migrated under the auspices of Madoc to this country, in the twelfth century ; that they formerly inhabited Kentucky ; but being attacked by the Indians, were forced to take refuge near the sources of the Missouri.

Another suggestion has been made, that the French, in their expeditions from Canada to the Mississippi, were the authors of these works : but the most numerous are to be found in the territory of the Senecas, whose hostility to the French was such, that they were not allowed for a long time to have any footing among them.* The fort at Niagara was obtained from them, by the intrigues and eloquence of Joncaire, an adopted child of the nation.†

Louis Dennie, a Frenchman, aged upward of seventy, and who has been settled and married among the Confederates for more than half a century, told me, that according to the traditions of the ancient Indians, these forts were erected by an army of Spaniards, who were the first

* Colden, vol. 1. p. 61.

† Charlevoix, vol. 3. letter 15. p. 227.

Europeans ever seen by them ; the French the next ; then the Dutch, and finally the English : that his army first appeared at Oswego in great force, and penetrated through the interior of the country, searching for the precious metals ; that they continued there two years, and went down the Ohio.

Some of the Senecas told Mr. Kirkland, the missionary, that those in their territory were raised by their ancestors in their wars with the western Indians, three, four or five hundred years ago. All the cantons have traditions that their ancestors came originally from the west, and the Senecas say that their's first settled in the country of the Creeks. The early histories mention, that the Iroquois first inhabited on the north side of the great lakes ; that they were driven to their present territory in a war with the Algonkins or Adirondacks, from whence they expelled the Satanas. If these accounts are correct, the ancestors of the Senecas did not, in all probability, occupy their present territory at the time they allege.

I believe we may confidently pronounce, that all the hypotheses which attribute those works to Europeans, are incorrect and fanciful : First, on account of the present number of the works. Second, on account of their antiquity ; having, from every appearance been erected a long time before the discovery of America ; and finally, their form and manner are totally variant from European fortifications, either in action or modern times.

It is equally clear that they were not the work of the Indians. Until the Senecas, who are renowned for their national vanity, had seen the attention of the Americans attracted to these erections, and had invented the fabulous account of which I have spoken, the Indians of the present

day did not pretend to know anything about their origin. They were beyond the reach of all their traditions, and were lost in the abyss of unexplored antiquity.

The erection of such prodigious works must have been the result of labor far beyond the patience and perseverance of our Indians; and the form and materials are entirely different from those which they are known to make. These earthen walls, it is supposed, will retain their original form much longer than those constructed with brick and stone. They have, undoubtedly, been greatly diminished by the washing away of the earth, the filling up of the interior, and the accumulation of fresh soil; yet their firmness and solidity indicate them to be the work of some remote age. Add to this, that the Indians have never practised the mode of fortifying by intrenchments. Their villages or castles were protected by palisades; which afforded a sufficient defence against Indian weapons. When Cartier went to Hochelaga, now Montreal, in 1535, he discovered a town of the Iroquois, or Hurons, containing about fifty huts. It was encompassed with three lines of palisadoes, through which was one entrance, well secured with stakes and bars. On the inside was a rampart of timber, to which were ascents by ladders; and heaps of stones were laid in proper places to cast at an enemy. Charlevoix and other writers agree, in representing the Indian fortresses as fabricated with wood. Such also were the forts of Sasacus, the great chief of the Pequots; and the principal fortress of the Narragansets was on an island in a swamp, of five or six acres of rising land: the sides were made with palisades set upright, encompassed with a hedge, of a rod in thickness.*

* Mather's *Magnalia*, p. 693.

I have already alluded to the argument for the great antiquity of those ancient forts, to be derived from the number of concentric circles. On the ramparts of one of the Muskingum forts, four hundred and sixty-three were ascertained on a tree, decayed at the center; and there are likewise the strongest marks of a former growth of a similar size. This would make those works near a thousand years old.

But there is another consideration which has never before been urged, and which appears to me to be not unworthy of attention. It is certainly novel, and I believe it to be founded on a basis which cannot easily be subverted.

From near the Genesee River to Lewiston, on the Niagara River, there is a remarkable ridge or elevation of land, running almost the whole distance, which is seventy-eight miles, and in a direction from east to west. Its general altitude above the neighboring land is thirty feet, and its width varies considerably: in some places it is not more than forty yards. Its elevation above the level of Lake Ontario is perhaps one hundred and sixty feet, to which it descends by a gradual slope; and its distance from that water is between six and ten miles. This remarkable strip of land would appear as if intended by nature for the purpose of an easy communication. It is, in fact, a stupendous natural turnpike, descending gently on each side, and covered with gravel; and but little labor is requisite to make it the best road in the United States. When the forests between it and the lake are cleared, the prospects and scenery which will be afforded from a tour on this route to the cataract of Niagara, will surpass all competition for sublimity and beauty, variety and number.

There is every reason to believe, that this remarkable

ridge was the ancient boundary of this great lake. The gravel with which it is covered was deposited there by the waters ; and the stones every where indicate, by their shape, the abrasion and agitation produced by that element. All along the borders of the western rivers and lakes, there are small mounds or heaps of gravel, of a conical form, erected by the fish for the protection of their spawn : these fish-banks are found in a state that cannot be mistaken, at the foot of the ridge, on the side toward the lake ; on the opposite side none have been discovered. All rivers and streams which enter the lake from the south, have their mouths affected with sand in a peculiar way, from the prevalence and power of the north-westerly winds. The points of the creeks which pass through this ridge, correspond exactly in appearance with the entrance of the streams into the lakes. These facts evince, beyond doubt, that Lake Ontario has, perhaps one or two thousand years ago, receded from this elevated ground. And the cause of this retreat must be ascribed to its having enlarged its former outlet, or to its imprisoned waters (aided, probably, by an earthquake,) forcing a passage down the present bed of the St. Lawrence ; as the Hudson did at the Highlands, and the Mohawk at the Little Falls. On the south side of this great ridge, its vicinity, and in all directions through this country, the remains of numerous forts are to be seen ; but on the north side, that is, on the side toward the lake, not a single one has been discovered, although the whole ground has been carefully explored. Considering the distance to be, say seventy miles in length, and eight in breadth, and that the border of the lake is the very place that would be selected for habitation, and consequently for works of defence, on account of the facilities

it would afford for subsistence, for safety, for all domestic accommodations and military purposes ; and that on the south shores of Lake Erie these ancient fortresses exist in great number ; there can be no doubt but that these works were erected, when this ridge was the southern boundary of Lake Ontario, and, consequently, that their origin must be sought in a very remote age.

A great part of North America was then inhabited by populous nations, who had made considerable advance in civilization. These numerous works could never have been supplied with provisions without the aid of agriculture. Nor could they have been constructed without the use of iron or copper ; and without a perseverance, labor, and design, which demonstrate considerable progress in the arts of civilized life. A learned writer has said, "I perceive no reason why the Asiatic North might not be an officina virorum, as well as the European. The over-teeming country to the east of the Riphæan mountains, must find it necessary to discharge its inhabitants. The first great wave of people was forced forward by the next to it, more tumid and more powerful than itself : successive and new impulses continually arriving, short rest was given to that which spread over a more eastern tract ; disturbed again and again, it covered fresh regions. At length, reaching the farthest limits of the old world, it found a new one, with ample space to occupy, unmolested, for ages."* After the north of Asia had thus exhausted its exuberant population by such a great migration, it would require a very long period of time to produce a co-operation of causes, sufficient to effect another. The first mighty stream of people that flowed into America,

* Pennant's Arctic Zoology, vol. 1., p. 260.

must have remained free from external pressure for ages. Availing themselves of this period of tranquility, they would devote themselves to the arts of peace, make rapid progress in civilization, and acquire an immense population. In course of time, discord and war would rage among them, and compel the establishment of places of security. At last, they became alarmed by the irruption of a horde of barbarians, who rushed like an overwhelming flood from the North of Asia.

A multitude, like which the populous North
Poured from her frozen loins, to pass
Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons
Came like a deluge on the South, and spread
Beneath Gibraltar to the Lybian sands.*

The great law of self-preservation compelled them to stand on their defence, to resist these ruthless invaders, and to construct numerous and extensive works for protection. And for a long series of years the scale of victory was suspended in doubt, and they firmly withstood the torrent : but like the Romans, in the decline of their empire, they were finally worn down and destroyed by successive inroads and renewed attacks. And the fortifications of which we have treated are the only remaining monuments of these ancient and exterminated nations. This is, perhaps, the airy nothing of imagination, and may be reckoned the extravagant dream of a visionary mind : but may we not, considering the wonderful events of the past and present times, and the inscrutable dispensations of an over-ruling Providence, may we not look forward into futurity, and without departing from the rigid laws of

* Milton's *Paradise Lost*, book 1, p. 62.

probability, predict the occurrence of similar scenes, at some remote period of time. And, perhaps, in the decrepitude of our empire, some transcendent genius, whose powers of mind shall only be bounded by that impenetrable circle which prescribes the limits of human nature,* may rally the barbarous nations of Asia under the standard of a mighty empire. Following the track of the Russian colonies and commerce toward the north-west coast, and availing himself of the navigation, arms, and military skill of civilized nations, he may, after subverting the neighboring despotisms of the old world, bend his course toward European America. The destinies of our country may then be decided on the waters of the Missouri, or on the banks of Lake Superior. And if Asia shall then revenge upon our posterity the injuries we have inflicted on her sons, a new, a long, and a gloomy night of gothic darkness will set in upon mankind. And when, after the efflux of ages, the returning effulgence of intellectual light shall again gladden the nations, then the wide-spread ruins of our cloud-capp'd towers, of our solemn temples, and of our magnificent cities, will, like the works of which we have treated, become the subject of curious research and elaborate investigation.

* Roscoe's Lorenzo De Medicis, p. 241.

Mississippi Question.

THE extraordinary manner in which the subject now under consideration has been introduced, the extraordinary manner in which it has been treated, and the extraordinary nature of the proposition itself, would justify a latitude and severity of remark, which, however, I am not disposed to indulge upon this occasion. I know that I address myself to a very respectable portion of the collected wisdom and patriotism of my country. I will therefore leave the honorable members from Pennsylvania and Delaware, (Mr. RESS and Mr. WHITE,) in the undisturbed possession of their inflammatory appeals and declamatory effusions, and will manifest a becoming respect for the high authority to which I have the honor to speak, by moving on the ground of argument and of fact. To prevent losing myself in so spacious a field I will consider the subject under three distinct heads :

1. The injuries alleged to have been committed on the part of Spain.
2. The nature, character, and tendency of the remedy proposed.
3. Its justice and policy.

The importance of a free navigation of the Mississippi has been duly appreciated by the Government, and a constant eye has been kept upon it, in our negotiations with

foreign powers. An attempt was indeed made under the old confederation to barter it away for twenty-five years; which, however, was efficiently controlled by the good sensé and patriotism of the Government. By the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783.....by the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, with her, in 1794....and by the treaty of friendship, limits, and navigation with Spain, in 1795, the right of a free navigation of the Mississippi is recognized, and declared to exist, from its source to the ocean, in the citizens of the United States. By the 22d article of the treaty with Spain, it is declared, That "in consequence of the stipulations contained in the 4th article, his Catholic majesty will permit the citizens of the United States, for the space of three years from this time, to deposit their merchandize and effects in the port of New Orleans, and to export them from thence without paying any other duty than a fair price for the hire of the stores. And his majesty promises either to continue this permission, if he finds during that time that it is not prejudicial to the interests of Spain; or if he should not agree to continue it there, he will assign to them, on another part of the banks of the Mississippi, an equivalent establishment." The 22d article granting the right of deposit, is, therefore, founded upon the 4th article recognizing the right of free navigation, and is intended to give full and complete efficacy to it. By a proclamation of the Intendant of the province of Louisiana, dated the 16th of Oct. last, the right of deposit is prohibited. The reason assigned for this daring interdiction is, that the three years for which it was granted having expired, it cannot be continued without an express order from the king of Spain.

And at the same time no equivalent establishment is assigned, according to the stipulations of the treaty.

There can be no doubt but that the suspension of the right of deposit at New Orleans, and the assignment of another place equally convenient, ought to have been contemporaneous and concurrent; that the conduct of the Intendant is an atrocious infraction of the treaty, and that it aims a deadly blow at the prosperity of the western States; but it is extremely questionable whether it was authorized by the Government of Spain or not. On this subject I am free to declare that I entertain great doubts, which can only be cleared up by the course of events, or perhaps it will ever be enveloped in darkness. On the one hand, the terms of the proclamation, indicating a misunderstanding of the treaty, the remonstrances of the Governor of the province, whose authority does not extend to commercial and fiscal affairs, over which the Intendant has an exclusive control, and the prompt and decided assurances of the Spanish Minister near the United States, would induce a belief, that the act of the Intendant was unauthorized. On the other hand, it cannot readily be believed that this officer would assume such an immense responsibility, and encounter an event so big with important consequences, not only to his country but to himself, without knowing explicitly the intentions of his Government. Such, then, is the true state of the Spanish aggression: an important right had been secured to our citizens by the solemnity of a treaty; this right had been withdrawn by an officer of the Spanish Government; and whether this aggression was directed by it or not, is not as yet known. Other aggressions have indeed been stated by the honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Ross),

in order to darken the picture, and with the manifest design of exasperating our feelings, inflaming our passions, and prompting an immediate appeal to the sword. That gentleman had mentioned that great and unwarrantable spoliations have been committed upon our commerce by Spain, and that redress is refused. The depredations previous to the treaty of 1795 were satisfactorily provided for in it, and those subsequent are in a favorable train of negotiation and adjustment. If it were permitted to me to draw aside the veil which covers our executive proceedings, I could establish, to the satisfaction of every person present, that the honorable mover has wandered widely from candor and the convictions of his own knowledge, in his representations on this subject. I will at present content myself with giving an unqualified contradiction to his declarations, and do cheerfully appeal to the information within the power of every member of the Senate, for the accuracy of my assertion. I am fully satisfied that the court of Madrid has not only entertained, but has manifested in her negotiations, every disposition to maintain inviolate the relations of amity with this country. When, therefore, the honorable mover proceeded to state that several of our citizens had been seized and imprisoned by the colonial authorities of Spain, I might ask, whether any Government in the world pretended to protect her citizens in the violation of the laws of other nations? Whether our citizens in the situation he has represented, had not been concerned in illicit trade, and in violating the laws of the Spanish colonies? Instances may have indeed occurred where innocent persons have been unjustly dealt with; and whenever representations to this effect shall be made to our Government, I have no doubt

but that ample redress will be instantly demanded and insisted upon. Nothing has been laid before us which can authorize the assertions made on this subject. Whenever such conduct shall be brought home to Spain, and prompt and complete satisfaction denied, I shall then consider it the duty of the Government to vindicate the rights of our citizens at all hazards; and I cannot but congratulate the honorable mover, and the other side of the house, on the resurrection of that ardent zeal in favor of their oppressed countrymen which has so long and so soundly slept over British and French enormities.

As to the nature, character, and tendency of the remedy proposed, there can be but one opinion. It proposes to enter the country of a foreign nation with a hostile force, and to seize a part of its territory. It is not preceded by a *formal declaration*, and cannot, therefore, come under the denomination of a *solemn war*; but it partakes of the character of a war *not solemn*. It answers to the definition of war, by Burlamaqui, "a nation taking up arms with a view to decide a quarrel;" to that given by Vattel, who represents it to be "that state in which a nation prosecutes its right by force." A state of general hostilities would as necessarily follow as an effect would follow a cause; no nation would submit to the irruption of a hostile army without repelling it by force; the proud Castilian, as described by the gentleman from Delaware, would revolt at the insult; the door of negotiation would be effectually closed; and as the appeal would be to arms in the first instance, so the controversy must be finally decided by the preponderance of force. It would therefore not only have impressed me with a more favorable opinion of the honorable mover's candor, but also of his decision and

energy as a statesman, if he had spoken out boldly, and declared his real object. War is unquestionably his design—his wish. Why then mask his propositions? Why combine it with considerations connected with negotiation? Why not furnish the American people at once with the real and the whole project of himself and his friends? If it is bottomed on patriotism, and dictated by wisdom, it need not shrink from the touch of investigation—it will receive their approving voice, and be supported by all their force. The resolution is then to be considered as a war resolution; in no other light can it be viewed, in no other light ought it to be viewed, and in no other light will it be viewed by the intelligence of the country.

In this point of view, I will proceed, said Mr. C., to consider its justice and policy, its conformity with the laws and usages of nations, and the substantial interests of this country.

I shall not attempt to occupy your attention by threadbare declamation upon the evils of war; by painting the calamities it inflicts upon the happiness of individuals, and the prosperity of nations. This terrible scourge of mankind, worse than famine or pestilence, ought not to be resorted to until every reasonable expedient has been adopted to avert it. When aggressions have been committed by the sovereign or representatives of the will of a nation, negotiation ought in all cases to be first tried, unless the rights of self-defence demand a contrary course. This is the practice of nations, and is enjoined by the unerring monitor which the God of nature has planted in every human bosom. What right have the rulers of nations to unsheath the sword of destruction, and to let loose the demons of desolation upon

mankind, whenever caprice or pride, ambition or avarice, shall prescribe? And are there no fixed laws founded in the nature of things which ordain bounds to the fell spirit of revenge, the mad fury of domination, and the insatiable thirst of cupidity? Mankind have, not only in their individual character, but in their collective capacity as nations, recognized and avowed in their opinions and actions, a system of laws calculated to produce the greatest happiness of the greatest number. And it may be safely asserted, that it is a fundamental article of this code, that a nation ought not to go to war until it is evident that the injury committed is highly detrimental, and that it emanated from the will of the nation charged with the aggression, either by an express authorization in the first instance, or by a recognition of it when called upon for redress, and a refusal in both cases to give it. A demand of satisfaction ought to precede an appeal to arms, even when the injury is manifestly the act of the sovereign; and when it is the act of a private individual, it is not imputable to his nation, until its Government is called upon to explain and redress, and refuses; because the evils of war are too heavy and serious to be incurred without the most urgent necessity; because remonstrance and negotiation have often recalled an offending nation to a sense of justice, and a performance of right; because nations, like individuals, have their paroxysms of passion, and when reflection and reason resume their dominion, will extend that redress to the olive-branch which their pride will not permit them to grant to the sword; because a nation is a moral person, and as such is not chargeable with an offence committed by others, or where its will has not been consulted, the unauthorized conduct of indivi-

duals being never considered a just ground of hostility until their sovereign refuses that reparation for which his right of controlling their actions, and of punishing their misconduct, necessarily renders him responsible. These opinions are sanctioned by the most approved elementary writers on the laws of nations. I shall quote the sentiments of some of them.

Vattel says: "Two things, therefore, are necessary to render it (an offensive war) just. First, a right to be asserted; that is, that a demand made on another nation be important and well grounded: 2d, That this reasonable demand cannot be obtained otherwise than by force of arms. Necessity alone warrants the use of force. It is a dangerous and terrible resource. Nature, the common parent of mankind, allows of it only in extremity, and when all others fail. It is doing wrong to a nation to make use of violence against it before we know whether it be disposed to do us justice, or to refuse it. They who, without trying pacific measures, on the least motive run to arms, sufficiently show that justificative reasons, in their mouths, are only pretences; they eagerly seize the opportunity of indulging their passions, and of gratifying their ambition, under some color of right." It is subsequently stated by this admired writer, that "it is demonstrated in the foregoing chapter, that to take arms lawfully, 1. That we have a just cause of complaint. 2. That a reasonable satisfaction has been denied us, &c."

Burlamaqui says: "However just reason we may have to make war, yet as it inevitably brings along with it an incredible number of calamities, and often injustices, it is certain that we ought not to proceed too easily to a dangerous extremity, which may perhaps prove fatal to the

conqueror himself. The following are the measures which prudence directs sovereigns to observe in these circumstances : 1. Supposing the reason of the war is just in itself, yet the dispute ought to be about something of great consequence to us ; since 'tis better even to relinquish part of our right, when the thing is not considerable, than to have recourse to arms to defend it. 2. We ought to have at least some probable appearance of success ; for it would be a criminal temerity, and a real folly, wantonly to expose ourselves to certain destruction, and to run into a greater, in order to avoid a lesser evil. 3. Lastly, there should be a real necessity for taking up arms : that is, we ought not to have recourse to force but when we can employ no milder method of recovering our rights, or of defending ourselves from the evils with which we are menaced. These measures are agreeable not only to the principles of prudence, but also to the fundamental maxims of sociability, and to the love of peace ; maxims of no less force with respect to nations than individuals. By these a sovereign must, therefore, be necessarily directed ; even the justice of the Government obliges him to it, in consequence of the very nature and end of authority. For as he ought always to take particular care of the state, and of his subjects, consequently he should not expose them to all the evils with which war is attended, except in the last extremity, and when there is no other expedient left but that of arms." In addition to these great authorities, permit me to refer severally to the opinions of two more modern writers, Martens and Paley. The former says that amicable means for redress must be tried in vain before an appeal to arms, unless it is evident that it would be useless to try such means ; and the latter is of opinion

that the only justifying causes of war are *deliberate invasions* of right, and maintaining the balance of power. It is not necessary to decide upon the justice of the last observation, because it does not apply to the case before us. But can any man lay his hand upon his heart and declare that he believes the present case a *deliberate invasion of right* by the Spanish Government? Can any man say, that it would be fruitless to attempt amicable means of redress, and that the sword alone can restore us to our rights?

The opinions of these celebrated writers are corroborated by the general usage of nations. A demand of redress before the application of force, has been almost uniformly practiced by the most barbarous, as well as the most civilized nations. Instances may indeed be found to the contrary; but they are to be considered as departures from established usage. The ancient Romans, who were a military nation, and who marched to empire through an ocean of blood, always demanded satisfaction from the offending nation before they proceeded to war; and fixed upon a certain time in which the demand was to be complied with, at the expiration of which, if redress was still withheld, they then endeavored to obtain it by force. It has been the general practice of the civilized nations of Europe to promulge manifestos, justificatory of their conduct in resorting to arms. These manifestos contain a full statement of their wrongs, and almost always declare that they had previously endeavored by negotiation to obtain a friendly adjustment of their complaints. What is this, but a declaration that the law and the sense of nations demand this course? What is it, but an appeal to the intuitive sense of right and wrong which exists in every

human bosom? The reign of the present King of Great Britain has been emphatically a war reign. In 1760 he ascended the throne, and found the nation at war with France. Besides his wars in the East and West Indies, almost half of his reign has been consumed in wars with this country, and some of the nations of Europe. He has been three times at war with France; three times with Spain; twice with Holland, and once with the United States. The most strange events—events which have pleased and dazzled, astonished and terrified mankind—have passed upon the theater of the world in his time. The ordinary maxims of policy, and the cardinal principles of action have been reversed and prostrated. The world has seen the revival of the crusades, and all the great powers of Europe in arms, and a destroying and desolating spirit go forth, unknown to past times. Portentous as a portion of this reign has been, when a deviation from the established laws of nations might naturally be expected, and degraded as the power and condition of Spain is represented to be, I am willing to stake the whole controversy upon the reciprocal conduct of these Governments to each other. Of all wars, one with Spain is the most popular in England, from the opportunities it affords for maritime spoliation, and lucrative enterprise: for the same reasons it is anxiously deprecated by Spain; and it has even grown into a Spanish proverb, “Peace with England, and war with the world.” Notwithstanding the preponderating force of Great Britain, the allurements of popularity and cupidity, her great and extraordinary acquisition of maritime power, and the martial temper which has marked her character during the present reign, we find the very power with whom we are now called upon

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to measure swords, meeting her propositions for negotiation or arms on the ground of perfect equality, maintaining a steady posture and an erect attitude, passing through her collisions with unspotted reputation and unsullied dignity, and teaching us an instructive lesson, that while we ought never to bend into degrading compliances, we are not to expect that a nation which has not yielded improperly to the power in the world most able to injure her, will tamely submit to the insulting and imperious measure recommended so earnestly to our adoption. Six controversies have occurred between Great Britain and Spain, during the reign of the present king; three have terminated amicably by negotiation, and three have resulted in war. In 1761, when Great Britain was at war with France, a memorial was presented by the French Ambassador at London to the English Minister, which implicated some demands of Spain upon Great Britain, and which gave great offence to her ministry. A negotiation took place, which being attended with an insolent demand for a sight of a treaty concluded between France and Spain, and which being very properly refused, a war ensued. Notwithstanding the conduct of Great Britain in the course of this transaction was precipitate and unjust, negotiation was attempted before an appeal to arms; and the future disclosure of the real transaction furnished her with a salutary lesson; for it was afterwards found that the treaty did not refer to the existing state of the belligerent powers, but that the guarantee it contained was not to operate until the termination of the war.

In the year 1770, the remarkable case of the Faulkland Islands occurred. Six years before a settlement was made and a fort erected by the British Government on one of

them, with a view to accommodate navigators in refitting their ships and furnishing them with necessaries previous to their passage through the Straits of Magellan, or the doubling Cape Horn. This settlement gave great umbrage to Spain ; not only upon account of its interference with her claim of sovereignty to almost the whole southern Continent of America, and the adjacent islands, but also on account of the facility it would afford in case of a future war, to an attack upon her South-Sea Territories. Ineffectual remonstrances were made on the part of Spain ; and at last, notwithstanding the claim of Great Britain by discovery and occupancy, an armed force was sent ; the fort was taken ; the settlement was broken up, and the honor of the British flag violated by the taking off of the rudder of a king's ship, and detaining it on shore twenty days. What course did the British pursue on this occasion ? In this case the insult was flagrant ; the honor of their flag, the dignity of their crown, and the commerce of the nation were implicated. Was the sword immediately unsheathed, and the door to peace effectually closed ? No ! negotiations ensued ; a convention was formed ; Spain disavowed the violence and engaged to restore the possessions ; but with an express declaration that the restitution should not affect the question concerning the prior right of sovereignty. The islands were also evacuated three years afterwards by Great Britain, in consequence of a secret agreement.

In 1779, Spain declared war against Great Britain, alleging unredressed depredations on her commerce, and that she was insulted in an attempt to negotiate between France and Great Britain. It is evident that this step on the part of Spain was in pursuance of the family com-

pact, and was not justifiable by the laws of nations. It appears, however, that previous to taking this measure, she had attempted to attain her objects by negotiation.

In 1786, the long disputes respecting the English settlements on the Musquito shore, and the coast of Honduras, were settled by negotiation. The English abandoned their Musquito settlements, and many hundreds of families, who had inhabited them under the protection and faith of the British Government, were peremptorily compelled to evacuate that country. The boundaries of the English Honduras settlements were enlarged, but in such a manner as to leave Spain in full possession of her territorial rights and exclusive dominion.

In 1790, the controversy about Nootka Sound arose : two years before a settlement was made there by an association of British merchants, on land purchased from the natives, with a view to carry on the Fur trade. This interfering with the commercial rights of Spain, a Spanish frigate was dispatched by the Viceroy of Mexico, which seized the fort, and captured the English vessels trading there. A negotiation took place, the vessels were restored, and the settlements agreed to be yielded back. But there was an express reservation on the part of Spain of the right of sovereignty for ulterior discussion.

In 1796, Spain, in pursuance of a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive with France, declared war against Great Britain. From this short narrative it will appear that in almost every case negotiation was attempted, even when indignity and violence had been committed ; that in many instances it was successful ; that in two of the three cases where hostilities were commenced, Spain was unequivocally the aggressor ; that in most of her ad-

justments she stood upon ground at least equal, and in some, superior to Great Britain ; that in all of them she maintained a high sense of character and independence, and that in points affecting the most delicate considerations of national honor, interest, and right, and where occurrences of a very irritating nature had taken place, and more aggravated than the one of which we justly complain, the path of negotiation was deemed the path of honor, by two of the great nations of Europe.

The practice of our Government has been uniformly conformable with the principles I have endeavored to establish, and I trust I shall be excused for bestowing particular consideration on this subject. We have heard much of the policy of WASHINGTON. It has been sounded in our ears from all quarters. And an honorable gentleman from Delaware (Mr. WHITE), has triumphantly contrasted it with that adopted by the present administration. I am not disposed to censure it in this case : on the contrary, I think it a high and respectable authority. But let it be properly understood in order to be rightly appreciated, and it will be found that the United States under his administration, and that of his successor, have received injuries more deleterious, insults more atrocious, and indignities more pointed than the present, and that the pacific measure of negotiation was preferred. If our national honor has survived the severe wounds it then received, it may surely outlive the comparatively slight attack now made upon it ; but if its ghost only now remains to haunt the consciences of the honorable gentlemen who were then in power, and who polluted their hands with the foul murder, let them not attempt to transfer the odium and the crime to those who had no hand in the guilty deed.

They then stood high in the councils of their country. The reins of government were in their hands ; and if the course they at that time pursued was diametrically opposite to that they now urge for our adoption, what shall we say of their consistency ? What will they say of it themselves ? What will their country say of it ? Will it be believed that the tinkling sounds and professions of patriotism which have been so vehemently pressed upon us, are the emanations of sincerity, or will they be set down to the account of juggling imposture ? Although but an infant nation, our career has been eventful and interesting. We have already had very serious collisions with three of the most powerful nations of Europe, who are connected with us by treaty, by neighborhood, and by commerce. Great Britain, France, and Spain, have successively committed very great aggressions upon our national rights. In stating these I have no intention of reviving feelings which I trust have ceased with the causes which gave them birth, nor of aspersing the characters of nations who certainly hold the most important and respectable station in the civilized world. Our differences with Great Britain were coeval with the treaty of peace. The detention of the Western posts was a direct violation of that treaty ; it diverted a considerable portion of the fur trade from the United States, and disabled us from bridling the hostile Indians, which was a source of immense injury. This evil continued for twelve years, under every circumstance of aggravation and insult. British soldiers issued from those forts into parts of our territory, where we exercised jurisdiction, and seized the persons of deserters without the aid or sanction of the authorities of the country ; and these possessions served as

asylums for the savages who were in hostile array against us; and as store-houses and magazines to supply them with arms, ammunition, and provisions. The seat of Government of Upper Canada was also held for a time at Niagara, in the State of New York, an indignity of the most marked character. Many thousands of negroes were also carried off in violation of the treaty, and a very serious injury was thereby inflicted on the agricultural pursuits of our southern citizens. On the other hand, it was stated on the part of Great Britain that the treaty was violated by the United States; for that impediments had been interposed against the recovery of British debts by legislative acts and judicial decisions in several of the States. As there were mutual reclamations and reciprocal complaints, let us balance the account, and set off these grievances against each other. Let us suppose that both parties acted right, and that no real cause of crimination existed, still I contend that the conduct of Great Britain, independent of the inexecution of the treaty of peace, was much more aggravated than the case before us.

It is well known that we were engaged in a bloody and expensive war with several of the Indian tribes; that two of our armies had been routed by them; and that we were finally compelled to make great efforts to turn the tide of victory. These Indians were encouraged and aided by the emissaries of Great Britain. British subjects were seen disguised fighting in their ranks, and British agents were known to furnish them with provisions, and the implements of war. The Governor-General of Canada, a highly confidential and distinguished officer, delivered a speech to the Seven Nations of Lower Canada, exciting them to enmity against this country; but in order to

furnish the savages at war with sufficient aid, a detachment of British troops penetrated into our territory, and erected a Fort on the Miami River. Here the Indians, dispersed and defeated by Wayne, took refuge, and were protected under the muzzle of the British cannon. A violation of territory is one of the most flagrant injuries which can be offered to a nation, and would in most cases justify an immediate resort to arms, because in most cases essential to self-defence. Not content with exciting the savages of America against us, Great Britain extended her hostility to the eastern hemisphere, and let loose the barbarians of Africa upon us. A war existed at that time between Portugal and Algiers. The former blocked up the mouth of the Straits, by her superior naval force, and prevented the pirates from a communication with the Atlantic. Portugal has been for a long time subservient to the views of Great Britain. A peace was effected through the mediation of the latter. Our unprotected merchantmen were then exposed, without defence, to the piracies of Algiers. Thus in three-quarters of the globe we at one time felt the effects of British enmity. In the meantime our commerce in every sea was exposed to her rapacity. All France was declared in a state of siege, and the conveyance of provisions expressly interdicted to neutrals. Paper blockades were substituted for actual ones, and the staple commodities of our country lay perishing in our storehouses, or were captured on the ocean, and were diverted from the lawful proprietors. Our seamen were pressed wherever found. Our protections were a subject of derision, and opposition to the imperious mandates of their haughty tyrants was punished by famine or by stripes; by imprisonment, or by the gibbet. To complete the full measure of our

wrongs, the November orders of 1792 were issued ; our ships were swept from the ocean, as if by the operation of enchantment ; hundreds of them were captured ; almost all our merchants were greatly injured, and many of them were reduced to extreme poverty. These proceedings, without even a pretext, without the forms of justice, without the semblance of equity, were calculated to inflame every American feeling, and to nerve every American arm. Negotiation was however pursued ; an envoy *extraordinary*, in every sense of the word, was sent to demand redress ; and a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, was formed and ratified. These events took place under the administration of Washington. The Spanish treaty, concluded on the 27th October, 1795, stipulated for a settlement of boundaries, and an adjustment of spoliations on commerce, and contained a declaration of the free navigation of the Mississippi, and a grant of the privilege of deposit at New Orleans. This treaty for more than two years afterwards was not executed on the part of Spain. In January, 1798, a report was made to Mr. Adams, by Mr. Secretary Pickering, and submitted to Congress, which charged Spain with retaining her troops and garrisons within the United States ; with evading to run the boundary line ; with stopping, controlling, and regulating the passage of our citizens on the Mississippi ; and with sending emissaries among the Indians residing within our territories, in violation of the treaty and the relations of amity. Here then, a treaty securing the important benefit of deposit, was in a state of inexecution for a long period. Our citizens were also interrupted in the free navigation of the Mississippi ; and other aggressions, affecting our territorial rights, and our internal peace, were super-

added. Was it at that time proposed by the honorable gentlemen who were then in power, as it now is, when they are deprived of it, to seize New Orleans with an armed force? Were they then so feelingly alive to the wrongs of our western brethren? Did they manifest that irritable sensibility for national honor which is now thundered in our ears with such extraordinary emphasis? If it is right for us to act now in the way they propose, what will excuse them for not pursuing the same system then? Was their political vision darkened by the eminence on which they stood? And does it require the ordeal of adversity to open their eyes to a true sense of their country's honor and interest? Let them answer to their constituents, to their consciences, and to their God.

An amicable explanation was had with Spain, and our wrongs were satisfactorily redressed. This took place in the administration of Mr. Adams, and when most of the honorable gentlemen who support this war resolution, except such as were dangling in the courts of Europe, held prominent stations in the councils of the country.

Our differences with France were of a more serious nature, and of a longer duration. They commenced in the administration of Mr. Washington, and were adjusted in that of his successor. Great and enormous depredations were committed upon our commerce by France, and our merchants were fraudulently robbed of compensation for provisions supplied her in the hour of distress. The treaty and consular convention were violated. The right of embassy, a sacred right, respected even by the ferocious savages, was wantonly trampled upon; and the representative of our national sovereignty was refused a reception, and ignominiously ordered out of France. A fresh attempt at ne-

gotiation was made: three ministers were sent, armed with all the powers, and clothed with all the honors of diplomacy. They were also refused a hearing, and were forced to leave the country without experiencing the forms of common civility. The treaty was then annulled, and reprisals directed; and when the honorable gentlemen and their friends, then in power, had worked up the passions of the nation to the highest pitch of exasperation; when war, bloody war, was expected from all quarters; when the war-worn soldiers of the Revolution were girding on their swords, and preparing to stand between their country and the danger that menaced her, the scene suddenly changed; the black cloud passed away; and we again beheld three ministers at Paris, extending the olive-branch, burying all animosities, and returning with a treaty of "*firm, inviolable, and universal peace, and true and sincere friendship.*" I shall not press this subject any further upon the feelings of the honorable gentlemen. I read in their countenances the emotions they experience.

I have thus shewn that the course recommended for our adoption is not warranted by the laws and usage of nations, nor by the practice of our Government. I shall now examine whether it is not repugnant to the best interests of the country.

A vast augmentation of our national debt would be the certain consequence of this measure. It is a moderate estimate to say, that our annual expenditures, over and above our surplus revenue, would be 20 millions of dollars; and we cannot reasonably expect that the war would continue a shorter period than five years. Hence 100 millions would be added to our debt, and the great experiment which we are now trying of extinguishing it in four-

teen years, would certainly fail ;—an experiment which has been defeated in Europe, by war and prodigality ; and for the success of which, in this country, every friend of republican Government looks with the greatest anxiety. But this is not all : heavy and oppressive taxation would be necessary, in order to pay off the interest of the accumulating debt, and to meet the other exigencies of Government. We are now a happy nation in this respect. Neither the temper nor the habits of our citizens will patiently submit to severe burdens ; and happily the posture of our financial arrangements does not require them. Give the rein, however, to chimerical notions of war ; embrace the proposition now submitted to us ; and the weight of your impositions will be felt in every nerve and artery of our political system. Excises, taxes on houses and lands, will be reintroduced, and the evils of former administrations will be multiplied upon us. But the mischief will not stop here : with the increasing calls for money from the people, their means to satisfy them will be diminished. The superior naval force of the enemy would cripple our commerce in every quarter of the globe. Great Britain and Spain hold the keys of the Mediterranean : we should therefore be entirely shut out of that sea, unless we could persuade the former to unite her exertions with ours. With the decay of our commerce, with our exclusion from foreign markets, the labors of our farmers would be palsied ; the skill of our manufacturers would be rendered useless ; and with the fruits of their industry perishing on their hands, or greatly undersold, how would they be able to meet the augmented wants of Government ? What in the mean time would become of the claim of our merchants upon Spain, for at least five

millions of dollars ; and to what perils would your commercial cities be exposed ? These certain evils would be encountered, without producing the least benefit to our western brethren. The seizure of New Orleans would vest us with a place of deposit. But a place of deposit without the free navigation of the Mississippi would be entirely useless. As long as the enemy holds the country below New Orleans, and possesses a superior naval force, so long we will be excluded from the Mississippi. Suppose, however, this obstacle removed ; suppose we are enabled to pass into the Gulf, without molestation ; is it not necessary for vessels to hug the island of Cuba on their passage to the Atlantic States ? And will not this expose them to certain capture, as long as Spain retains that important possession. To secure the great object said to be aimed at by this resolution, and to establish beyond the reach of annoyance, a free communication between the Atlantic and western States, we must sieze not only New Orleans, but the Floridas and Cuba ; and we must immediately create a formidable navy. It is needless to mention that the Atlantic States are, with few exceptions, the carriers of western produce. Three-fourths of that trade is managed by the merchants of the State I have the honor to represent. I therefore view this measure as pregnant with great mischief to the commerce of Atlantic America, and as a certain exclusion of the western States from market, as long as the war shall continue.

It is no slight objection in the minds of the sincere friends of republicanism, that this measure will have a tendency to disadjust the balance of our Government, by strengthening the hands of the executive, furnishing him with extensive patronage, investing him with great discre-

tionary powers, and placing under his direction a large standing army. It is the inevitable consequence of war in free countries, that the power which wields the force will rise above the power that expresses the will of the people. The State Governments will also receive a severe shock. Those stately pillars, which support the magnificent dome of our national Government, will totter under the increased weight of the superincumbent pressure. Nor will the waste of morals, the spirit of cupidity, the thirst of blood, and the general profligacy of manners, which will follow the introduction of this measure, be viewed by the great body of our citizens without the most fearful anxiety and the most heartfelt deprecation. And if there are any persons in this country, and I should regret if there are any such in this house, who think that a public debt is a public blessing, and that heavy taxation is expedient in order to produce industry; who believe that large standing armies are essential to maintain the energy, and that extensive patronage is indispensable to support the dignity, of Government; who suppose that frequent wars are necessary to animate the human character, and to call into action the dormant energies of our nature; who have been expelled from authority and power by the indignant voice of an offended country, and who repine and suffer at the great and unexampled prosperity which this country is rapidly attaining under other and better auspices—such men, whoever they are, and wherever they be, will rally round the proposition now before us, and will extol it to the heavens, as the model of the most profound policy, and as the offspring of the most exalted energy.

If I were called upon to prescribe a course of policy

most important for this country to pursue, it would be to avoid European connections and wars. The time must arrive when we will have to contend with some of the great powers of Europe; but let that period be put off as long as possible. It is our interest and our duty to cultivate peace, with sincerity and good faith. As a young nation, pursuing industry in every channel, and adventuring commerce in every sea, it is highly important that we should not only have a pacific character, but that we should really deserve it. If we manifest an unwarrantable ambition, and a rage for conquest, we unite all the great powers of Europe against us. The security of all the European possessions in our vicinity will eternally depend, not upon their strength, but upon our moderation and justice. Look at the Canadas; at the Spanish territories to the south; at the British, Spanish, French, Danish, and Dutch West India Islands; at the vast countries to the west, as far as where the Pacific rolls its waves. Consider well the eventful consequences that would result, if we were possessed by a spirit of conquest. Consider well the impression which a manifestation of that spirit will make upon those who would be affected by it. If we are to rush at once into the territory of a neighboring nation, with fire and sword, for the misconduct of a subordinate officer, will not our national character be greatly injured? Will we not be classed with the robbers and destroyers of mankind? Will not the nations of Europe perceive in this conduct the germ of a lofty spirit, and an enterprising ambition which will level them to the earth, when age has matured our strength, and expanded our powers of annoyance—unless they combine to cripple us in our infancy? May not the consequences be, that

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we must look out for a naval force to protect our commerce. That a close alliance will result. That we will be thrown at once into the ocean of European politics, where every wave that rolls, and every wind that blows, will agitate our bark? Is this a desirable state of things? Will the people of this country be seduced into it by all the colorings of rhetoric and all the arts of sophistry; by vehement appeals to their pride, and artful addresses to their cupidity? No, sir. Three-fourths of the American people, I assert it boldly and without fear of contradiction, are opposed to this measure. And would you take up arms with a mill-stone hanging round your neck? How would you bear up, not only against the force of the enemy, but against the irresistible current of public opinion. The thing, sir, is impossible; the measure is worse than madness: it is wicked, beyond the powers of description.

It is in vain for the mover to oppose these weighty considerations by menacing us with an insurrection of the western States, that may eventuate in their seizure of New Orleans without the authority of Government; their throwing themselves into the arms of a foreign power—or in a dissolution of the Union. Such threats are doubly improper: improper as they respect the persons to whom they are addressed—because we are not to be terrified from the performance of our duty by menaces of any kind, from whatever quarter they may proceed; and it is no less improper to represent our western brethren as a lawless unprincipled banditti, who would at once release themselves from the wholesome restraints of law and order, forego the sweets of liberty, and either renounce the blessings of self-government, or like the Goths and Vandals, pour down with the irresistible force of a torrent upon the countries below, and carry havoc and desolation in their train. A

separation by a mountain, and a different outlet into the Atlantic, cannot create any natural collision between the Atlantic and western States. On the contrary, they are bound together by a community of interests, and a similarity of language and manners; by the ties of consanguinity and friendship, and a sameness of principles. There is no reflecting and well-principled man in this country who can view the severance of the States without horror, and who does not consider it as a Pandora's box which will overwhelm us with every calamity; and it has struck me with not a little astonishment, that on the agitation of almost every great political question, we should be menaced with this evil. Last session, when a bill repealing a judiciary act was under consideration, we were told that the eastern States would withdraw themselves from the Union if it should obtain; and we are now informed, that if we do not accede to the proposition before us, the western States will hoist the standard of revolt, and dismember the empire. Sir, these threats are calculated to produce the evils they predict; and they may possibly approximate the spirit they pretend to warn us against. They are at all times unnecessary—at all times improper—at all times mischievous—and ought never to be mentioned within these walls. If there be a portion of the United States *peculiarly* attached to republican Government and the present administration, I should select the western States as that portion. Since the recent elections, there is not a single senator, or a single representative in Congress, from that vast country, unfriendly to the present order of things; and except in a part of the Mississippi Territory—and its whole population did not by the last census reach nine thousand souls—there is scarcely the appearance of opposition. To represent a people so re-

publican, so enlightened, and so firm in their principles, as ready, without any adequate cause, (for no Government could watch over their interests with more paternal solicitude than the present upon the present question), to violate their plighted faith and political integrity ; to detach themselves from the Government they love, and to throw themselves under the protection of nations whose political systems are entirely repugnant to their own, requires an extent of credulity rarely equalled—certainly never surpassed. If we examine the indications of public sentiment which have reached us, we see them breathing quite a contrary spirit. The legislatures of Kentucky and the Mississippi Territory have expressed full confidence in the conduct of the Government respecting the infraction of the treaty. Virginia, which embraces a respectable portion of western population, has done the same. The legislature of Tennessee has not been in session ; but from the most recent and authentic accounts, we have every reason to believe that that State and the Indiana Territory are entirely satisfied with the position our Government has taken. The infant State of Ohio has presented us with an address, couched in the warmest terms of affectionate attachment, equally honorable to her and to us ; and her recent elections have manifested the same decided spirit. Out of forty-five members returned to her first legislature, there are only five to be found in the opposition. Pennsylvania is the only remaining state which possesses any western territory, and I need only refer you to her elections to demonstrate the extraordinary attachment to the Government which prevails in that great and respectable State. In the next Congress there will not be a single member in opposition from Pennsylvania, and her State elections have been attended with nearly the same

distinguished unanimity. Under the influence of such honorable principles, and under the auspices of the great character who so deservedly holds the reins of her government, and so extensively possesses the confidence of his fellow-citizens, we have nothing to apprehend on her part from the evils with which we have been so liberally menaced. Delaware—which has no western country, which carries on little or no trade with the western States, and which has no immediate interest in the present question—has indeed lifted up her voice against the measures of the general Administration, and has demanded a more energetic course. I shall be the last man to speak disrespectfully of any of the State Governments. I mean not to disparage the conduct of Delaware; and I trust I do not, when I say that New York, which has a greater interest in the Spanish infraction than any of the Atlantic States, is entitled to equal attention; and she has, through her Legislature and executive, declared her warmest approbation of the course pursued by the general Government on this interesting occasion.

It is equally in vain for the honorable mover to declare *that the seizure of New Orleans will facilitate negotiation, and avert war; that we will lose our character if we do not; that delay will give Spain time to prepare; that our executive has taken no course that we know of; and that the opposition will lend us their aid if we follow their advice.* In opposition to these suggestions, we say that the seizure of New Orleans is war in fact, and will shut out negotiation; that character is to be lost, not by firm and honorable moderation, but by rash and boyish precipitation; that delay is an evil that cannot be avoided, if we pursue the path of negotiation, which is the course our Government has taken; and that if it gives our adversary time for preparation, it

will also furnish us with the same advantage ; that however desirable it may be to produce an union of sentiment and action among our fellow-citizens, we are certain that it will not result from the adoption of the present measure ; that the great body of the people will consider it rash and unjust ; and that in gaining the transient and doubtful support of a small minority, we will alienate the affections, and lose the confidence of our best friends—who will certainly desert us when we desert the laudable principles which ought alone to entitle us to their esteem and attachment.

If negotiation shall prove successful—and of this I have no doubt—all the evils resulting from war will be averted. If, on the contrary, it shall eventuate unfortunately, and we shall be compelled to face all consequences, and risk all dangers in the maintenance of our national honor and national rights, great and abundant advantages will still result from the pursuit of this course ; and we will be enabled to appeal to the sword, with a full conviction of the justice of our conduct ; with the unanimous suffrage of our country ; and to the perfect satisfaction of the world. In the mean time, we can form some necessary preparations, and we can ascertain the feelings and bearings of foreign Governments. Every day of procrastination will find us better prepared, and will give us more people, more resources, more treasure, more force, with less debt. Our national character will stand high for moderation and justice ; our own citizens, and foreign nations, will entertain but one opinion on the subject ; and we can then confidently appeal to that great and good Being, who holds in his hands the destiny of nations, to smile upon our cause. But, if in the inscrutable decrees of His providence it is ordained that we must perish, we will at least fall with dignity, and maintain our character when we lose our existence.

American Bible Society.

1823.

“ On Thursday, May 8th, 1823, was held at the City Hotel, New York, the Seventh Anniversary of the American Bible Society. The Hon. JOHN JAY, President of the Society, by reason of his advanced age and infirmity, not being able to be present, the chair was taken by Gen. Matthew Clarkson, senior Vice President, who was supported by the Hon. De Witt Clinton and Richard Varick, Esq., Vice Presidents.”

Such was the announcement at the commencement of the Report of proceedings of the Seventh Anniversary of the American Bible Society. The venerable and distinguished men, alike the pride and the ornament of the State of New York, who then constituted its officers, and who are named above, have all gone to their rest ; but their names will be remembered while literature and law, philosophy and religion, have their votaries among us.

The aged and honored President sent a written address to the Society, which was read by the Rev. James Milnor, D.D., then the Secretary for Foreign Correspondence ; and who has also joined the great company of the redeemed, and whose name is associated with almost all the enterprises of benevolence in the land ; and who, by his talents and his exalted Christian character, commanded the respect and received the affection of all who knew him.

On this occasion DE WITT CLINTON delivered the following Address :

Address.

WHEN I had the satisfaction to attend, some years since, an Anniversary Meeting of this Society, it was honored, I believe for the last time, by the presence of its venerable President, who has been since numbered among the illustrious dead. His mortal remains are mouldering in the grave ; but it is humbly hoped that his immortal spirit is in heaven, enjoying the rewards of a well-spent life, the communion of saints and angels, and the smiles of the Almighty Father of the universe. His worthy successor is, I learn with deep regret, disabled by bodily infirmity from attending in his place, but he has favored us with an emanation from his highly-gifted mind. Like his predecessor, he was a statesman of the revolution, and has rendered eminent services to the Republic. After a life devoted to patriotism, illuminated by talents, and distinguished for independence and integrity, he has dedicated his setting sun to the diffusion of the light of the Gospel, and has given all the weight of his elevated character to the support of an Institution, which embraces within its purview the highest interest of the human race. He too, will, in the course of nature, follow, ere long, his distinguished predecessor. Let us render him, when living, the honors due to his high office in this Institution—to his exalted merit—to the purity of his private, and the usefulness of his public life : And under this impression I have the honor to propose the following resolution :—

“ Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be given to the President, for the address with which he has favored the Society on the present occasion, and for the lively interest which he manifests in its prosperity and success.”

On this occasion, and as intimately connected with this subject, I shall endeavor, with great diffidence, to illustrate the principles, enforce the objects, and elucidate the merits of associations established for diffusing the Holy Scriptures. If it be admitted that the Bible is a revelation from God, intended for the benefit of man in this world, and for his happiness in a future state, it follows, as an inevitable corollary, that its extensive circulation is a duty of the most imperative nature, and an interest of the highest character. However the various members of the Christian community may differ about doctrine or discipline, they must all, notwithstanding, recognize the divine origin, and the sacred character of the Bible ; like the radii of a circle, they must all emanate from a common center, and all terminate in the same periphery.

As this place is neutral ground, on which all the contending sects of Christendom may assemble in peace, for the purpose of diffusing with pious zeal the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and of promoting, with concentrated effort, the great cause of religion, how deeply is it to be regretted that different views should be taken of this subject, and that controversy should be excited as to the dispensation of the highest charity. For alas ! it has been contended that the Revelation of God to man should be modified or restrained by human agency. While this opposition proceeds from quarters entitled to the highest respect, and is enforced by the most ingenious appeals to sectarian feeling, to the passions and the imagination, it is our incumbent duty to resist all attempts to intercept the light of heaven from striking the earth. In maintaining the preëminent merits of Bible Societies, let us not, however, lose sight of that charity which is the brightest

ornament of the Christian character ; and let us not mingle acrimonious imputations in our vindication of a great and glorious cause. The citadel of benevolence and Christian charity may be defended without the use of poisoned weapons, and we may refute the arguments without impeaching the motives or wounding the feelings of our opponents. And let it be indelibly impressed on our minds, that the errors of wise men are, at least, entitled to sympathy, and that even the obliquities of good men incline towards heaven.

Whatever glosses may be thrown on this subject, and whatever disguises may be adopted, it is obvious that the opposition must finally entrench itself in the obsolete exploded doctrine of the danger of illuminating mankind. And no person can take this ground without entertaining erroneous views of the fabric of human society and of the high destinies of religion. In its full latitude and unqualified extent, it compels us to consider the ruler every thing and the people nothing, and to substitute the exposition of the priest for the will of the Deity. As ignorance is the patron of error and the enemy of truth, the diffusion of knowledge is friendly to the propagation of religion and the ascendancy of good government. If it teach man his rights, it also teaches him his duties. "Truth and goodness," said an illustrious philosopher, "differs but as the seal and the print ; for truth prints goodness, and they be the clouds of error which descend in the storms of passions and perturbations."

To deny the full benefit of the Scriptures, in the most unlimited and unsophisticated shape, to all the family of mankind, is to assume the ground of our incapacity for the full reception of the revealed will of heaven ; and the

whole assumption is predicated on the most untenable premises. If the Almighty, in the plenitude of his goodness, has graciously condescended to promulgate his will to the human race, we cannot deny our capacity to understand the revelation without charging Divine Providence with an useless dispensation. And if we take refuge in the pale of sectarian pretensions, and insist that the light of the Gospel shall only reach us through the refracting medium of human illustration, is not this a virtual abandonment of the controversy? The Deity, in declaring his will, announced that man was able to receive, and ought to enjoy the full benefit of the revelation. And in contending that it must be conveyed in an exclusive channel, or only through certain selected organs, we fully concede that human nature may be rendered a fit depository as well as channel of divine truth. And to borrow the language of a great philosopher, "to say that a blind custom of obedience should be a surer obligation than duty taught and understood, is to affirm that a blind man may tread surer by a guide, than a seeing man can by a light." Within this narrow compass is comprised the whole philosophy of the debate.

I believe that it is not generally understood that human reason cannot in itself furnish certain demonstration of a future state. The aspirations of the soul after immortality—the general impressions of mankind—the constitution of the human mind, and the benign attributes of the Deity, render it highly probable that our existence is not bounded by the narrow limits of this world. But it is well known that every link in this concatenation of reasoning, every circumstance in this enumeration of consideration has been assailed with no inconsiderable force.

And it must be admitted that the highest efforts of the human mind have been unable to afford suitable and distinct views of our mode of existence in a future state. Even the end of our creation has been the subject of doubt and debate: and the powers of philosophy, the fictions of mythology, and the subtilties of metaphysics have been unsuccessfully employed in dispelling the clouds and darkness that rested for ages over the destinies of mankind. Some have supposed that this world was created to punish man for the sins committed in a pre-existent state. Others have imagined that it sprung from a fortuitous concourse of atoms, or an infinite series of causes, and that man is the creature of chance, has no fixed destination, and will experience the fate of other organic matter. Some have considered him as created to afford amusement to superior beings, and to be "the standing jest of heaven," while others have contended that his existence is essential to complete the series of created substances, and to supply a necessary link in the chain of being.

If the end and aim of our being in this world have appeared so obscure to the benighted vision of human reason, what may we not expect from its views of a future state? The most sublime flights of poetry, and the most profound elaborations of philosophy have altogether failed in furnishing luminous, distinct, and cheering prospects of immortality. The most alluring views of heaven were entirely derived from the earth; and the final allotment of the virtuous was only a transit from this world to a material paradise.

Some safer world in depth of woods embrac'd,
Some happier island in the wat'ry waste.

In the bowers of bliss ; in the gardens of delight ; in the fields of Elysium ; in the seats of the illustrious and beatified dead, there was always a retrospective longing, lingering look, at the superior fascinations of this world. The great epic bard of Rome, after he had exhausted the powers of his creative mind in describing the delights of the Elysian Fields, asserts the return of the souls of the departed to this world, in order to reanimate other bodies. And the father of heroic poetry, "whose magic muse soared to the topmost heaven of gandeur," describes his heroes as dissatisfied with their portion in the regions of blessedness. When Ulysses congratulates Achilles on his supremacy over the mighty dead, the latter indignantly exclaims, that he would rather be a servile hind, and eat the bread of poverty on earth, than exercise imperial authority over all the Shades.

Whole nations were ignorant of a future state ; and others had but feeble glimmerings of light on this subject. The ancient philosophers were divided in their views. Many of them utterly discredited, and some openly ridiculed an hereafter. The consequences of this state of things were in every respect most deplorable : they were felt in every vein and artery of social combination, and in every aspect and conformation of conduct and character. The ancients, who disbelieved in a future state, were utterly unable to account for the moral phenomena of this world. When they considered the events and vicissitudes of life—when they beheld the accumulation of laurels on the brow of the tyrant, the oppressor rolling in affluence, and the murderer defying punishment—when they perceived the wise and the virtuous shrouded in obscurity and overwhelmed with calamity—when they saw Cato driven to

suicide, Socrates to hemlock, an Aristides in exile, and heard the dying Brutus exclaim, that virtue was an empty name—in what a dreadful position did they stand? A knowledge of a future world would have elucidated all incongruities, solved all doubts, dispelled all darkness. They sometimes, indeed, endeavored to vindicate the ways of God to man, by alleging that in this sublunary state virtue was its own reward; that vice was attended by an appropriate punishment, and that a man's enormities were at least visited on his posterity; and when forced from the full extent of their positions by the testimony of daily experience, they took refuge in atheism, or inculcated that the Deity had no agency in the concerns of this world, or adopted the system of polytheism, and believed in

Gods partial, changeful, passionate, unjust;
Whose attributes were rage, revenge, or lust.

In this state of moral darkness, Jesus Christ appeared, pointing out the way to heaven, and shedding light over the world. What was before uncertain he rendered certain: for to adopt the words of the great apostle, "he hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel." And herein consists a characteristic feature and a peculiar excellence of the Christian dispensation. It lifted the veil which concealed futurity from view, and that separated time from eternity; and it afforded clear demonstrations of the life to come. All doubts on this subject have vanished, for a belief in the Christian religion is utterly incompatible with a disbelief of a future state. Christianity not only ascertains its existence, but points out our destinies in it. Instead of the sensual enjoyments of a Mahometan Paradise—instead of the Elysian

Fields of Pagan superstition, or the transmigrations of the Metempsychosis, "our minds are lifted up from the dungeon of the body to the enjoyment of the divine essence of the Almighty," and we are endowed with

Perfections absolute, graces divine,
And amplitude of mind to greatest deeds.

Christianity may be contemplated in two important aspects. First, in reference to its influence on this world; and secondly, in reference to our destiny in the world to come. And whatever may be intimated to the contrary by the sneers of infidelity, or the cavils of scepticism, it may be asserted boldly, and can be demonstrated conclusively, that to its celestial influence we are indebted for the blessings of civilization, the elevation of the female character, the enjoyment of domestic happiness, the successful cultivation of knowledge, the establishment of free government, and the dominion of good order and peace, wherever they prevail in the great communities of mankind.

Had I the time and the talent, I would proceed with pleasure to establish these positions; but restricted as I am in both respects, I can only glance at some of the leading topics.

We are governed by our hopes and our fears—by the desire of happiness and the dread of misery. The laws which regulate our conduct, are the laws of man, and the laws of God. To which may be added, as exercising a strong influence, and in many instances, a controlling power over our actions, an anxious desire to acquire the good will, and to avoid the contempt of our fellow creatures by a conformity to the general sense of right and wrong. This is denominated by Mr. Locke the law of opinion. The sanctions of laws, in order to be complete,

ought to comprise rewards as well as punishments. The inefficacy of human laws for their intended objects, is palpable from the daily operations of society, and the accumulated experience of ages. Secret crimes are of course unpunished ; and how many of the guilty escape from the want of testimony—from casualties—and from the imperfect or perverse dispensation of justice and mercy : and there are many aberrations from virtue which do not come within the cognizance or the policy of human legislation. Violations of what are termed the duties of imperfect obligation answer to this description. Ingratitude—infidelity in friendship—the want of charity—an infraction of hospitality—are not punished by the tribunals of men. And deeds of the most dangerous character, which strike at the very foundation of private happiness and public prosperity, are sometimes not considered criminal. Lying and adultery, for instance, escape with impunity. The complex machinery of government, the arduous administration of justice, and the embarrassment and difficulties which surround the operations of legislation, frequently produce crimes peculiar to the social combinations of man, and generate evils unknown in a state of nature. But in addition to these considerations, it may be remarked, that the innocent are frequently punished instead of the guilty, and that human laws are entirely destitute of the sanction of rewards. To confer honors for obedience would be as ridiculous as unavailing. The honor of many would resolve itself into the honor of none. To dispense pecuniary rewards would be nugatory or impracticable. In an unqualified extent, no government would be able to supply the funds ; and even in a restricted form, its operation would be to receive money with one hand as a

premium, and to pay it back with the other in the shape of a tax.

The efficacy of the law of opinion is also limited, and has all the imperfections attached to humanity. It cannot reach those who are hardened in infamy and plunged in iniquity; and its sanctions do not extend beyond the limits of this world. Hypocrisy braves its denunciations; exalted rank and great opulence feel, in some degree, superior to its terrors; and the stoic in his apathy, the anchorite in his seclusion, and the misanthrope in his hatred, look with ineffable contempt on the men and the things of this world. And to this it may be added that the law of opinion does not always present an immutable standard of virtue, and an unnerring criterion of excellence; but sometimes connives at departures from the rules of morality.

The sanctions of the Divine law supply all these deficiencies, cover the whole area of human action, reach every case, punish every sin, and recompense every virtue. Its rewards and its punishments are graduated with perfect justice; and its appeals to the hopes and fears of man are of the most potent character and transcendent influence.

The codes of men and the laws of opinion derive a great portion of their weight from the influence of a future world. Justice cannot be administered without the sanctity of truth; and the great security against perjury is the amenability of another state. The sanctions of religion compose the foundations of good government; and the ethics, doctrines, and examples furnished by Christianity exhibit the best models for the laws of opinion.

The imperfect views which the Pagan religion afforded of futurity, had, notwithstanding, considerable influence on the interests of mankind. Herodotus represents the people called the immortal Getæ, on account of their belief in

a future state, as the bravest and most upright of the Thracian nations. And Juvenal ascribes the horrible depravity of the age to the reigning infidelity which had exploded from the public creed the Stygian Lake, and other terrors of the ancient mythology.

The Christian religion, armed with power, endowed with light fortified by truth, and revealed by God, foretold in the prophecies, attested by miracles, sealed with the blood of the saints, and sublimed by the morality of Heaven, is thus presented to man, exhibiting him in a state of probation, and enforcing his good conduct in this transitory state in order to secure his felicity in the regions of eternal bliss. It places what Archimedes wanted, the lever of power on another and a better world, and controls all the operations of man in union with the prescriptions of Divine love.

Feeble and imperfect as this view is, it notwithstanding presents powerful inducements to encourage your animated perseverance and redouble exertions in the cause of philanthropy and religion. Institutions like this unite in the bonds of friendship and charity all their cultivators, without regard to kindred, sect, tongue, or nation. In this place an altar is erected to concord—peace is declared among the most discordant sects—and the parti-colored coat of Joseph is exchanged for the seamless garment of Christ; and in such a holy cause, be assured that the visitations of Divine approbation will attend your proceedings—that opposition will prove like the struggles of a river with the ocean—and that although mountains of sophistry may be piled on mountains of invective, like Ossa on Pelion, yet that all such attempts will terminate like the fabled wars of the Titans, and can never prevail against truth and Heaven.

Free Schools.

1809.

The cause of popular education was ever near to the heart of Mr. CLINTON. He was an early friend of the Free Schools, and was President of the Society, and delivered the following address to the benefactors and friends of the Society in the city of New York, on the 11th of December, 1809. The occasion was "the opening of that Institution in their new and spacious building." It will be remembered that he was at this period Mayor of the city of New York. In connection with this address, it may be interesting to give an extract from the last Message of Gov. Clinton to the Legislature, 1st January, 1828. In the following address, and in the message, the subject of classical or collegiate education for the most promising and talented of the children of poor parents is considered and earnestly recommended.

Thus in his Message, he says:—"Permit me to solicit your attention to the two extremes of education,—the highest and the lowest; and this I do in order to promote the cultivation of those whom nature has gifted with genius, but to whom fortune has denied the means of education. Let it be our ambition (and no ambition can be more laudable), to dispense to the obscure, the poor, the humble, the friendless, and the distressed, the power of rising to usefulness and acquiring distinction. With this view, provision ought to be made for the gratuitous education in our Colleges of youth eminent for the talents they have displayed, and the virtues they have cultivated in the subordinate Semi-

naries. This would call into activity all the faculties of genius ; —all the efforts of industry, all the incentives to ambition, and all the motives to enterprize—and place the merits of transcendent intellect on a level, at least, with the factitious claims of fortune and ancestry.”

The FREE ACADEMY in the city of New York, will accomplish this object. The following is the Address of 1809, above referred to :

Address.

ON an occasion so interesting to this Institution, when it is about to assume a more respectable shape, and to acquire a spacious and permanent habitation, it is no more than a becoming mark of attention to its patrons, benefactors and friends, assembled for the first time in this place, to delineate its origin, its progress, and its present situation. The station which I occupy in this Association, and the request of my much respected colleagues, have devolved this task upon me—a task which I should perform with unmingled pleasure if my avocations had afforded me time to execute it with fidelity. And I trust that the humble objects of your bounty, presented this day to your view, will not detract from the solemnity of the occasion—“That ambition will not mock our useful toil, nor grandeur hear with a disdainful smile the simple annals of the poor.”

In casting a view over the civilized world, we find an universal accordance in opinion on the benefits of education ; but the practical exposition of this opinion exhibits a deplorable contrast. While magnificent Colleges and Universities are erected, and endowed, and dedicated to literature, we behold few liberal appropriations for diffusing

the blessings of knowledge among all descriptions of people. The fundamental error of Europe has been to confine the light of knowledge to the wealthy and the great, while the humble and the depressed have been as sedulously excluded from its participation as the wretched criminal, immured in a dungeon, is from the light of Heaven. This cardinal mistake is not only to be found in the institutions of the old world and in the condition of its inhabitants, but it is to be seen in most of the books which have been written on the subject of education. The celebrated Locke, whose treatises on government and the human understanding have covered him with immortal glory, devoted the powers of his mighty intellect, to the elucidation of education—but in the very threshold of his book, we discover this radical error—his treatise is professedly intended for the children of gentlemen. “If those of that rank (says he), are by their education once set right, they will quickly bring all the rest in order;” and he appears to consider the education of other children as of little importance. The consequence of this monstrous heresy has been, that ignorance, the prolific parent of every crime and vice, has predominated over the great body of the people, and a corresponding moral debasement has prevailed. “Man differs more from man, than man from beast,”* says a writer, once celebrated. This remark, however generally false, will certainly apply with great force to a man in a state of high mental cultivation, and man in a state of extreme ignorance.

This view of human nature is indeed calculated to excite the most painful feelings; and it entirely originates from a consideration of the predominating error which I have exposed. To this source must the crimes and ca-

* Montaigne's Essays.

lamities of the old world be principally imputed. Ignorance is the cause as well as the effect of bad governments, and without the cultivation of our rational powers, we can entertain no just ideas of the obligations of morality or the excellencies of religion. Although England is justly renowned for its cultivation of the arts and sciences, and although the poor rates of that country exceed five millions sterling per annum, yet (I adopt the words of an eminent British writer), "there is no Protestant country where the education of the poor has been so grossly and infamously neglected as in England."* If one-tenth part of that sum had been applied to the education of the poor, the blessings of order, knowledge, and innocence would have been diffused among them, the evil would have been attacked at the fountain head, and a total revolution would have taken place in the habits and lives of the people, favorable to the cause of industry, good morals, good order, and rational religion.

More just and rational views have been entertained on this subject in the United States. Here, no privileged orders—no factitious distinctions in society—no hereditary nobility—no established religion—no royal prerogatives exist, to interpose barriers between the people, and to create distinct classifications in society. All men being considered as enjoying an equality of rights, the propriety and necessity of dispensing, without distinction, the blessings of education, followed of course. In New England the greatest attention has been invariably given to this important object. In Connecticut, particularly, the schools are supported at least three-fourths of the year by the interest of a very large fund created for that purpose, and a small tax on the people; the whole amounting to seventy-eight

* Edinburgh Review.

thousand dollars per annum. The result of this beneficial arrangement is obvious and striking. Our Eastern brethren are a well-informed and moral people. In those States it is as uncommon to find a poor man who cannot read and write, as it is rare to see one in Europe who can.

Pennsylvania has followed the noble example of New England. On the fourth of April last, a law was passed in that State, entitled "An act to provide for the education of the poor, gratis." The expense of educating them is made a county charge, and the county commissioners are directed to carry the law into execution.

New York has proceeded in the same career, but on a different, and perhaps more eligible plan. For a few years back, a fund has been accumulating with great celerity, solemnly appropriated to the support of common schools. This fund consists at present of near four hundred thousand dollars in bank stock, mortgages, and bonds; and produces an annual interest of upwards of twenty-four thousand dollars. The capital will be augmented by the accumulating interest and the sale of three hundred and thirty-six thousand acres of land. When the interest on the whole amounts to fifty thousand dollars, it will be in a state of distribution. It is highly probable that the whole fund will, in a few years, amount to twelve hundred and fifty thousand dollars, yielding a yearly income of seventy-five thousand dollars. If population is taken as the ratio of distribution, the quota of this city will amount to seven thousand five hundred dollars, a sum amply sufficient on the plan of our establishment, if judiciously applied, to accommodate all our poor with a gratuitous education.

On a comparison of the plan of this State with that of Pennsylvania, it will probably be found that we are enti-

tled to the palm of superior excellence. Our capital is already created, and nothing more is requisite than a judicious distribution—whereas the expense of school establishments in that State, is to be satisfied by annual burdens. The people of Pennsylvania are therefore interested against a faithful execution of the plan, because the less that is applied to education, the less they will have to pay in taxation. Abuses and perversions will of course arise and multiply in the administration of the public bounty. And the laws of that State being liable to alteration or repeal, her system has not that permanency and stability to which ours can lay claim. It is true that our Legislature may divert this fund, but it would justly be considered a violation of public faith, and a measure of a very violent character. As long as the public sentiment is correct in this respect, we have no reason to apprehend that any Legislature will be hardy enough to encounter the odium of their constituents, and the indignation of posterity. And we have every reason to believe, that this great fund, established for sinking vice and ignorance, will never be diverted or destroyed, but that it will remain unimpaired, and in full force and vigor to the latest posterity, as an illustrious establishment, erected by the benevolence of the State for the propagation of knowledge, and the diffusion of virtue among the people.

A number of benevolent persons had seen, with concern, the increasing vices of this city, arising in a great degree from the neglected education of the poor. Great cities are at all times the nurseries and hot-beds of crime. Bad men from all quarters repair to them, in order to obtain the benefit of concealment, and to enjoy in a superior degree the advantages of rapine and fraud. And the

dreadful examples of vice, which are presented to youth, and the alluring forms in which it is arrayed, connected with a spirit of extravagance and luxury, the never-failing attendant of great wealth and extensive business, cannot fail of augmenting the mass of moral depravity. "In London, says a distinguished writer on its police, above twenty thousand individuals rise every morning, without knowing how, or by what means they are to be supported through the passing day, and in many instances even where they are to lodge on the ensuing night."* There can be no doubt that hundreds are in the same situation in this city, prowling about our streets for prey, the victims of intemperance, the slaves of idleness, and ready to fall into any vice, rather than to cultivate industry and good order. How can it be expected that persons so careless of themselves, will pay any attention to their children? The mendicant parent bequeaths his squalid poverty to his offspring, and the hardened thief transmits a legacy of infamy to his unfortunate and depraved descendants. Instances have occurred of little children, arraigned at the bar of our criminal courts, who have been derelict and abandoned, without a hand to protect, or a voice to guide them through life. When interrogated as to their connections, they have replied, that they were without home and without friends. In this state of turpitude and idleness, leading lives of roving mendicancy and petty depredation, they existed a burden and a disgrace to the community.

True it is, that Charity Schools, entitled to eminent praise, were established in this city, but they were attached to particular sects, and did not embrace children of different persuasions. Add to this that some denominations

* Colquhoun on Police of London.

were not provided with those establishments, and that children, the most in want of instruction, were necessarily, excluded, by the irreligion of their parents, from the benefit of education.

After a full view of the case, those persons of whom I have spoken, agreed that the evil must be corrected at its source, and that education was the sovereign prescription. Under this impression, they petitioned the Legislature, who, agreeably to their application, passed a law on the 9th of April, 1805, entitled, "An Act to incorporate the Society instituted in the city of New York for the Establishment of a Free School, for the education of poor children, who do not belong to, or are not provided for, by any religious society."—Thirteen Trustees were elected under this Act, on the first Monday of the ensuing May, with power to manage the affairs of the Corporation. On convening together, they found that they had undertaken a great task, and encountered an important responsibility; without funds, without teachers, without a house in which to instruct, and without a system of instruction; and that their only reliance must be on their own industry, on the liberality of the public, on the bounty of the constituted authorities, and on the smiles of the Almighty Dispenser of all good.

In the year 1798, an obscure man of the name of Joseph Lancaster, possessed of an original genius and a most sagacious mind, and animated by a sublime benevolence, devoted himself to the education of the poor of Great-Britain. Wherever he turned his eyes, he saw the deplorable state to which they were reduced by the prevalence of ignorance and vice. He first planted his standard of charity in the city of London, where it was calculated that forty thousand children were left as destitute of instruction as

the savages of the desert. And he proceeded by degrees, to form and perfect a system, which is in education what the most finished machines for abridging labor and expense are in the mechanic arts.

It comprehends reading, writing, arithmetic, and the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. It arrives at its object with the least possible trouble and at the least possible expense. Its distinguishing characters are economy, facility, and expedition, and its peculiar improvements are cheapness, activity, order, and emulation. It is impossible on this occasion to give a detailed view of the system. For this I refer you to a publication entitled, "Improvements in Education, &c., by Joseph Lancaster," and for its practical exposition, I beg you to look at the operations of this seminary. Reading in all its processes, from the alphabet upwards, is taught at the same time with writing, commencing with sand, proceeding to the slate, and from thence to the copy-book. And to borrow a most just and striking remark, "The beauty of the system is, that nothing is trusted to the boy himself—he does not only *repeat* the lesson before a superior, but he *learns* before a superior."* Solitary study does not exist in the establishment. The children are taught in companies. Constant habits of attention and vigilance are formed, and an ardent spirit of emulation kept continually alive. Instruction is performed through the instrumentality of the scholars. The school is divided into classes of ten, and a chief, denominated a Monitor, is appointed over each class, who exercises a didactic and supervisional authority. The discipline of the school is enforced by shame, rather than by the infliction of pain. The punishments are

* Edinburgh Review.

varied with circumstances ; and a judicious distribution of rewards, calculated to engage the infant mind in the discharge of its duty, forms the keystone which binds together the whole edifice.

Upon this system, Lancaster superintended in person a school of one thousand scholars, at an annual expense of three hundred pounds sterling. In 1806, he proposed, by establishing twenty or thirty schools in different parts of the kingdom, to educate ten thousand poor children, at four shillings per annum each. This proposition has been carried into effect, and he has succeeded in establishing twenty schools in different parts of the kingdom, all of which are under the care of teachers, educated by him, few of whom are more than eighteen years old. Several of the schools have each about three hundred scholars—that at Manchester has four hundred—his great school in Borough-Road, London, flourishes very much—it has sometimes eleven hundred children—seldom less than one thousand.

When I perceive that many boys in our school have been taught to read and write in two months, who did not before know the Alphabet, and that even one has accomplished it in three weeks—when I view all the bearings and tendencies of this system—when I contemplate the habits of order which it forms, the spirit of emulation which it excites—the rapid improvement which it produces—the purity of morals which it inculcates—when I behold the extraordinary union of celerity in instruction, and economy of expense—and when I perceive one great assembly of a thousand children, under the eye of a single teacher, marching with unexampled rapidity, and with perfect discipline, to the goal of knowledge, I confess that

I recognize in Lancaster, the benefactor of the human race—I consider his system as creating a new era in education, as a blessing sent down from Heaven to redeem the poor and distressed of this world from the power and dominion of ignorance.

Although the merits of this apostle of benevolence have been generally acknowledged in his own country, and he has received the countenance and protection of the first men in Great Britain, yet calumny has lifted up her voice against him, and attempts have been made to rob him of his laurels. Danger to the Established Church and to Government, has been apprehended from his endeavors to pour light upon mankind. This insinuation has been abundantly repelled by the tenor of his life—his carefully steering clear in his instructions of any peculiar creed, and his confining himself to the general truths of Christianity. “I have,” says Lancaster, “been eight years engaged in the benevolent work of superintending the education of the poor. I have had three thousand children, who owe their education to me, some of whom have left school, are apprenticed or in place, and are going on well. I have had great influence with both parents and children, among whom there is, nevertheless, no one instance of a convert to my religious profession.” That knowledge is the parent of sedition and insurrection, and that in proportion as the public mind is illuminated, the principles of anarchy are disseminated, is a proposition that can never admit of debate, at least in this country.

But Lancaster has also been accused of arrogating to himself surreptitious honors, and attempts have been made to transfer the entire merit of his great discovery to Dr. Bell. Whatever he borrowed from that gentleman,

he has candidly acknowledged. The use of sand in teaching, undoubtedly came to him through that channel, but it has been practised for ages by the Brahmins. He may also be indebted to Bell for some other improvements, but the vital leading principles of his system, are emphatically an original discovery.

The trustees of this institution, after due deliberation, did not hesitate to adopt the system of Lancaster, and in carrying it into effect, they derived essential aid from one of their body, who had seen it practised in England, and who had had personal communication with its author. A teacher was also selected who has fully answered every reasonable expectation. He has generally followed the prescribed plan. Wherever he has deviated, he has improved. A more numerous, a better governed school, affording equal facilities to improvement, is not to be found in the United States.

Provided thus with an excellent system and an able teacher, the school was opened on the 6th of May, 1806, in a small apartment in Bancker street. This was the first scion of the Lancaster stock engrafted in the United States; and from this humble beginning, in the course of little more than three years, you all observe the rapidity with which we have ascended.

One great desideratum still remained to be supplied. Without sufficient funds, nothing could be efficiently done. Animated appeals were made to the bounty of our citizens, and five thousand six hundred and forty-eight dollars were collected by subscription. Application was also made to the Legislature of this State for assistance, and on the 27th of February, 1807, a law was passed, appropriating four thousand dollars, for the "purpose of

erecting a suitable building, or buildings, for the instruction of poor children, and every year thereafter, the sum of one thousand dollars, for the purpose of promoting the benevolent objects of the Society." The preamble of this liberal act contains a legislative declaration of the excellence of the Lancaster system, in the following words:—"Whereas the trustees of the Society for establishing a Free School in the city of New York, for the education of such poor children as do not belong to, or are not provided for, by any religious society, have, by their memorial, solicited the aid of the Legislature; and whereas their plan of extending the benefits of education to poor children, and the excellent mode of instruction adopted by them, are highly deserving of the encouragement of Government."

Application was also made to the Corporation of the city for assistance, and the tenement in Bancker-street, being in all respects inadequate to the accommodation of the increasing establishment, that body appropriated a building adjacent to the Alms-house, for the temporary accommodation of the school, and the sum of five hundred dollars towards putting it in repair; the Society agreeing to receive and educate fifty children from the Alms-house. To this place the school was removed on the 1st of May, 1807, where it has continued until to-day.

The Corporation also presented the ground of this edifice, on which was an arsenal, to the Society, on condition of their educating the children of the Alms-house gratuitously; and also the sum of fifteen hundred dollars, to aid in the completion of this building. The value of this lot and the old building, may be fairly estimated at ten thousand dollars; and the Society have expended above

thirteen thousand dollars in the erection and completion of this edifice and the adjacent buildings. The income of the school, during the last year, has been about sixteen hundred dollars, and its expense did not much differ from that sum. This room will contain near six hundred scholars, and below there are apartments for the family of the teacher, for the meeting of the trustees, and for a female school, which may contain one hundred scholars, and may be considered as an useful adjunct to this institution. This seminary was established about twelve years ago, by a number of young women belonging to, or professing with, the Society of Friends; who have, with meritorious zeal and exemplary industry, devoted much of their personal attention, and all their influence, to the education of poor girls in the elementary parts of education and needle-work. The signal success which attended this free-school animated the trustees with a desire to extend its usefulness, and to render it co-extensive with the wants of the community, and commensurate with the objects of public bounty. A statute was accordingly passed, on their application, on the 1st of April, 1808, altering the style of this corporation, denominating it "The Free School Society of New York," and extending its powers to all children who are the proper objects of gratuitous education.

From this elevation of prosperity and this fruition of philanthropy, the Society had the satisfaction of seeing that the wise and the good of this, and the neighboring States, had turned their attention to their establishment. A number of ladies of this city, distinguished for their consideration in society, and honored and respected for their undeviating cultivation of the charities of life, esta-

lished a society for the very humane, charitable, and laudable purposes of protecting, relieving, and instructing orphan children. This institution was incorporated on the 7th of April, 1807, under the style of "The Orphan Asylum Society in the City of New York," and at a subsequent period the Legislature, under a full conviction of its great merits and claims to public patronage, made a disposition in its favor, which will, in process of time, produce five thousand dollars.

A large building, fifty feet square and three stories high, has been erected for its accommodation, in the suburbs of the city, and it now contains seventy children, who are supported by the zeal and benevolence of its worthy members, and educated on the plan of this institution, at an annual expense of two thousand dollars.

An economical school, whose principal object is the instruction of the children of the Refugees from the West Indies, was opened some time since in this city, where, in addition to the elementary parts of education, Grammar, History, Geography, and the French language, are taught. It is conducted on the plan of Lancaster, with modifications and extensions, and is patronized and cherished by French and American gentlemen, of great worth and respectability, who are entitled to every praise for their benevolence. Children of either sex are admitted, without distinction of nation, religion, or fortune. This Seminary is in a flourishing condition, and contains two hundred scholars. There are two masters in this Seminary, and two women who teach needle-work, and there is a printing-press, where such as have any talents in that way are taught that important art.

We have also the satisfaction of seeing the benefits of

this system extended, either in whole or in part, to the Charity Schools of the Dutch, Episcopal, and Methodist Churches, and of the Presbyterian Church in Rutger's-street; and also to the school founded by the Manumission Society, for the education of the people of color; which has, in consequence of this amelioration, been augmented from seventy to one hundred and thirty children.

In Philadelphia, the same laudable spirit has been manifested. Two deputations from that city have visited us, for the express purpose of examining our school. One of these made so favorable a report on their return, that a number of the more enterprising and benevolent citizens, composed of members belonging to the Society of Friends, immediately associated under the name of the "Adelphi Society," and raised, by private subscription, a sum sufficient to purchase a suitable lot of ground, to erect a handsome two story brick building, seventy-five feet in length, and thirty-five in breadth, in which they formed two spacious rooms. The Adelphi School now contains two hundred children, under the care of one teacher, and is eminently prosperous. The other deputation made also a favorable report, and "the Philadelphia Free School Society," an old and respectable institution, adopted, in consequence, our system, where it flourishes beyond expectation.

Two female schools, one called the "Aimwell School," in Philadelphia, and another in Burlington, New Jersey, have also embraced our plan with equal success.

I trust that I shall be pardoned for this detail. The origin and progress of beneficial discoveries cannot be too minutely specified; and when their diffusion can only be exceeded by their excellence, we have peculiar reason to

congratulate the friends of humanity. This prompt and general encouragement is honorable to our national character, and shows conclusively that the habits, manners, and opinions of the American people, are favorable to the reception of truth and the propagation of knowledge.—And no earthly consideration could induce the benevolent man, to whom we are indebted for what we see this day, to exchange his feelings, if from the obscure mansions of indigence, in which, in all human probability he now is, instilling comfort into the hearts, and infusing knowledge into the minds of the poor, he could hear the voice of a great and enlightened people pronouncing his eulogium, and see this parent seminary, and the establishments which have sprung from its bosom, diffusing light, imparting joy, and dispensing virtue. His tree of knowledge is indeed transplanted to a more fertile soil, and a more congenial clime. It has flourished with uncommon vigor and beauty—its luxuriant and wide-spreading branches afford shelter to all who require it—its ambrosial fragrance fills the land—and its head reaches the heavens!

Far be it from my intention to prevent future exertion. For although much has been done, yet much remains to do, to carry into full effect the system. It would be improper to conceal from you, that in order to finish this edifice we have incurred a considerable debt, which our ordinary income cannot extinguish; and that, therefore, we must repose ourselves on the public beneficence. It has been usual to supply the more indigent children with necessaries to protect them against the inclemencies of winter—for without this provision, their attendance would be utterly impracticable. This has hitherto been accom-

plished by the bounty of individuals, and to no other source can we at present appeal for success.

The law from which we derive our corporate existence does not confine us to one seminary, but contemplates the establishment of schools. A restriction to a single institution would greatly impair our usefulness, and would effectually discourage those exertions which are necessary in order to spread knowledge among all the indigent.

Col. Henry Rutgers, with his characteristic benevolence, has made a donation of two lots in Henry-street, worth at least twenty-five hundred dollars, to this Corporation. By a condition contained in one of the deeds, it is necessary that we should erect a school-house by June, 1811; and it is highly proper, without any reference to the condition, that this should be accomplished as soon as possible, in order to meet the wants of the indigent in that populous part of the city. If some charitable and public-spirited citizen would follow up this beneficence, and make a similar conveyance on the opposite side of the city, and if the liberality of the public shall dispense the means of erecting the necessary buildings, then the exigencies of all our poor, with respect to education, would be amply supplied for a number of years.

After our youth are instructed in the elements of useful knowledge, it is indispensable to their future usefulness that some calling should be marked out for them. As most of them will undoubtedly be brought up in useful trades, pecuniary means to facilitate their progress to this object would, if properly applied, greatly redound to the benefit of the individual as well as to the good of the community.

In such an extensive and comprehensive establishment,

we are to expect, according to the course of human events, that children of extraordinary genius and merit will rise up, entitled to extraordinary patronage. To select such from the common mass—to watch over their future destiny—to advance them through all the stages of education and through all the grades of knowledge, and to settle them in useful and honorable professions, are duties of primary importance and indispensable obligation. This, however, will require considerable funds : but of what estimation are pecuniary sacrifices when put in the scale against the important benefits that may result ; and if we could draw aside the veil of futurity, perhaps we might see in the offspring of this establishment, so patronized and so encouraged, characters that will do honor to human nature—that will have it in their power—

“The applause of list’ning senates to command,
The threats of pain and ruin to despise ;
To scatter plenty o’er a smiling land,
And read their hist’ry in a nation’s eyes.’

Phi Beta Kappa.

On the 22d of July, 1823, MR. CLINTON delivered the Annual Address before the Alpha of the PHI BETA KAPPA SOCIETY of Union College, of Schenectady, which is given below.

Address.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE SOCIETY—

IN accepting the honor of your renewed invitations to appear at this place, I have not been insensible of your kind preference ; and when you were pleased to intimate that the deep interest of science, in exhibitions of this nature, might be promoted by my coöperation, I considered it my imperative duty to yield a cheerful compliance. When I endeavor to enforce those considerations which ought to operate upon us generally, as men, and particularly as Americans, to attend to the cultivation of knowledge, you will not, I am persuaded, expect that I shall act the holiday orator, or attempt an ambitious parade and ostentatious display, or a gaudy exhibition, which would neither suit the character of the Society, the disposition of the speaker, the solemnity of the place, or the importance of the occasion. What I say, shall come strictly within the purview of the Institution ; shall be

comprised in the language of unvarnished truth, and shall be directed with an exclusive view to advance the interests of literature. I shall not step aside to embellish or to dazzle; to cull a flower or to collect a gem. Truth, like beauty, needs not the aid of ornament; and the cause of knowledge requires no factitious assistance; for it stands on its own merits, supporting and supported by the primary interests of society, and deriving its effulgent light from the radiations of heaven.

Man, without cultivation, differs but little from the animals which resemble him in form. His ideas would be few and glimmering, and his meaning would be conveyed by signs or by confused sounds. His food would be the acorn or locusts—his habitation the cave—his pillow the rock—his bed the leaves of the forest—his clothes the skins of wild beasts. Destitute of accommodations, he would roam at large, seeking for food, and evincing in all his actions, that the state of untutored nature is a state of war. If we cast our eyes over the pages of history, or view the existing state of the world, we will find that this description is not exaggerated or over-charged. Many nations are in a condition still more deplorable and debased; sunk to the level of brutes; and neither in the appearance of their bodies, or in the character of their minds, bearing a resemblance to civilized humanity. Others are somewhat more advanced, and begin to feel the day-spring from on high: while those that have been acclimated to virtue, and naturalized to intelligence, have passed through a severe course of experiments, and a long ordeal of sufferings.

Almost all the calamities of man, except the physical evils which are inherent in his nature, are in a great

measure to be imputed to erroneous views of religion, or bad systems of government; and these cannot be co-existent for any considerable time with an extensive diffusion of knowledge. Either the predominance of intelligence will destroy the government, or the government will destroy it. Either it will extirpate superstition and enthusiasm, or they will contaminate its purity and prostrate its usefulness. Knowledge is the cause as well as the effect of good government. No system of government can answer the benign purposes of the social combinations of man which is not predicated on liberty; and no creed of religion can sustain unsullied purity, or support its high destination, which is mingled with the corruptions of human government. Christianity is in its essence, its doctrines, and its forms, republican. It teaches our descent from a common parent; it inculcates the natural equality of mankind; and it points to our origin and our end, to our nativity and our graves, to our immortal destinies, as illustrations of this impressive truth. But at an early period it was pressed into the service of the potentates of the earth; the unnatural union of church and state was consummated; and the scepter of Constantine was supported by the cross of Jesus. The light of knowledge was shut out from the general mass, and confined to the select organs of tyranny; and man was for ages enveloped in the thickest gloom of intellectual and moral darkness. At the present crisis in human affairs, we perceive a great and portentous contest between power and liberty—between the monarchical and the representative systems. The agonies and convulsions of resuscitating nature have agitated the nations, and before they are restored to their rights, and the world to its re-

pose, the hand of famine, the scythe of pestilence, and the sword of depopulation, will fill up the measure of human calamity.

The present state of the world exhibits an extraordinary aspect. In former times it was the policy of the sovereign to encourage eminent merit in literature, science, and the arts. The glory that was radiated on intellectual excellence was reflected back on the government; but these dispensations of munificence were confined to the Aristotles, the Virgils, and the Plinys of the age. The body of the people were kept in a state of profound ignorance, and considered as the *profanum vulgus*; to be employed as hewers of wood and drawers of water, and to be used as beasts of burden or of prey, as the policy or the caprice of the despot should prescribe.

The revolution effected by the invention of printing has created a corps of literary men in the cities, the universities, the academies, the lyceums, and philosophical societies of the most arbitrary governments of Europe, which have exercised an influence over public opinion almost irresistible. Man is the creature of imitation and sympathy; and however callous the sovereign might be to public opinion, yet it predominated over his ministers, who in reality wielded the sceptre. The consequence was, that a more extensive diffusion of knowledge was promoted, and the blessings of instruction visited the cottage as well as the palace. Monitorial schools and religious societies were generally established, and the sunshine of mental and moral illumination penetrated the darkness which covered the nations. To know our rights is to assert them. The principles of the American revolution became the text-book of liberty, and its practical commentaries are to

be read in the events now occurring in various parts of the globe. Greece has unfurled the holy standard of liberty, and waves it in defiance over the crescent of Mahomet. Spanish America is breaking the chains of tyranny: Spain and Portugal have drawn the sword in vindication of the rights of man; public opinion is operating with magic influence in Great Britain in favor of the oppressed nations; and the result will show that the physical strength of Europe must follow the train of its moral power. It is in vain to say that the people now in commotion are unfit for free government. Conceding the fact, it avails nothing in the argument. The human character is principally moulded by knowledge, religion, freedom, and government. The free States of Greece exhibited different aspects of mind, of manners, and of morals. But we no longer remark as a distinguishing characteristic, the ethereal spirit of the Athenian, the pastoral simplicity of the Arcadian, the stupidity of the Bæotian, or the laconic brevity of the Spartan.* The sweeping hand of despotism has confounded in one mass all the delicate coloring, the lights and shades of the picture. In revolutionary times great talents and great virtues, as well as great vices and great follies, spring into being. The energies of our nature are put into requisition, and during the whirlwind and the tempest, innumerable evils will be perpetrated. But all the transient mischiefs of revolutions are mild when compared with the permanent calamities of arbitrary power. The one is a sweeping deluge, an awful tornado, which quickly passes away; but the other is a volcano, continually ejecting rivers of lava—an earthquake burying whole countries in ruin. The alleged inaptitude of

* Hughes's Travels in Greece.

man for liberty is the effect of the oppressions which he has suffered ; and until a free government can shed its propitious influence over time—until, perhaps, a new generation has risen up under the new order of things, with new habits and new principles, society will be in a state of agitation and mutation ; faction will be the lord of the ascendant, and frenzy and fury, denunciation and proscription, will be the order of the day. The dilemma is inevitable. Either the happiness of the many or the predominance of the few must be sacrificed. The flame of liberty and the light of knowledge emanate from the same sacred fire, and subsist on the same element : and the seeds of instruction widely disseminated will, like the serpent's teeth, in the pagan mythology, that were sown into the earth, rise up against oppression in the shape of the iron men of Cadmus. In such a cause, who can hesitate to make an election ? The factions and convulsions of free governments are not so sanguinary in character, or terrific in effects, as the animosities and intestine wars of monarchies about the succession, the insurrections of the military, the proscriptions of the priesthood, and the cruelties of the administration. The spirit of a republic is the friend, and the genius of a monarchy is the enemy of peace. The potentates of the earth have, for centuries back, maintained large standing armies, and, on the most frivolous pretexts, have created havoc and desolation. And when we compare the world as it is under arbitrary power, with the world as it was under free republics, what an awful contrast does it exhibit ! What a solemn lesson does it inculcate ! The ministers of famine and pestilence, of death and destruction, have formed the van and brought up the rear of despotic authority. The monuments of the

arts, the fabrics of genius and skill, and the sublime erections of piety and science, have been prostrated in the dust; and the places where Demosthenes and Cicero spoke, where Homer and Virgil sang, and where Plato and Aristotle taught, are now exhibited as mementos of the perishable nature of human glory. The forum of Rome is converted into a market for cattle;* the sacred fountain of Castalia is surrounded, not by the muses and graces, but by the semi-bararous girls of Albania;† the laurel groves, and the deified heights of Parnassus, are the asylum of banditti; Babylon can only be traced by its bricks; the sands of the desert have overwhelmed the splendid city of Palmyra, and are daily encroaching on fertile territories of the Nile; and the malaria has driven man from the fairest portions of Italy, and pursued him to the very gates of the Eternal City.

Considerations like these announce to us, in the most impressive manner, the importance of our position in the civilized world, and the necessity of maintaining it. The reciprocal action of knowledge and free government on each other, partake in some measure of the character of identity; for wherever liberty is firmly established, knowledge must be a necessary concomitant. And if we desire to occupy this exalted ground—if we wish to improve, to extend and to perpetuate the blessings of freedom, it is essential, absolutely essential, to improve, to extend, and perpetuate the blessings of education. Let us not deceive ourselves by the delusions of overweening confidence, and the chimeras of impregnable security, and fondly suppose that we are to rise superior to the calamities of other nations. Our climate is salubrious, and we

* Eustace's History.

† Hughes's Travels.

are free from pestilence—our soil is fertile, and famine is a stranger—our character is pacific, and war is a rare occurrence; but if we only suppose a relaxation of the sinews of industry, and the presence of a tiger-like thirst for human blood, then the consequent neglect of productive industry, and the vast accumulation of taxes, would drain the resources of individuals, and impoverish the public treasury, and plague and famine, poverty and depopulation would follow in the train of preëxisting calamities. Nor is it to be concealed, that dangers of the most formidable nature may assail us from other sources: some peculiar to our situation, and others that are common to all free States.

Faction and luxury—the love of money and the love of power—were the hydra-headed monsters that destroyed the ancient republics. At the time that the Roman commonwealth was overturned, all ranks of men were so corrupted that tables were publicly set out upon which the candidates for offices were professedly ready to pay the people the price of their votes; and they came not only to give their voices to the man who had bought them, but with all manner of weapons to fight for him. Hence it often happened that they did not part without polluting the tribunal with blood and murder, and the city was a perpetual scene of anarchy.* The justice of heaven pursued the perpetrators of these enormities, and Rome was scourged with a series of the most detestable tyrants that ever disgraced the character of humanity. Although corruption will not at first present itself under such hideous forms, yet its approaches will be insidious, undermining, and dangerous. It will appeal to cupidity and to ambition,

* Plutarch.

by magnificent promises and by donatives of office, if not by largesses of money. Good men are too often lethargic and inactive—bad men are generally bold and adventurous. And unless arrested by the vigilant intelligence and virtuous indignation of the community, faction will, in process of time, contaminate all the sources of public prosperity; a deleterious poison will be infused into the vital principles of the body politic; intrigue, ignorance, and impudence will be the passports to public honors; and the question will be, not whether the man is fit for the office, but whether the office is fit for the man. In this crisis of the republic, its degenerate and unprincipled sons will unite in a common crusade against the public good, and will encircle the land with a cordon of corrupt and daring spirits, like the peccant humors of the body, which, in a dangerous disease, collect in the morbid part of the system.

There are also peculiar circumstances in our situation, which ought to silence high-toned arrogance, and admonish us of the danger which surround us. The experiment of a great empire, founded on the federative principle, has not been fully tested by the efflux of time and the pressure of events. The ancient democracies, where the people legislated in person, were ruined by the smallness of their area. The impulses of faction were sudden, unchecked, and overwhelming. An extensive republic, like ours, may be destroyed by a conspiracy of the members against the head, or the power of government may be spent as it extends, like a circle in the water which is lost by its own expansion. And an apprehension of this occurrence may induce the establishment of standing armies in the extremities of the empire, which, as in the days of ancient

Rome, will rush to the capital, to divide the spoils of power and wealth. Nor is it to be concealed that a spirit is active in the community which tends to the destruction of the Union, and the consequent subversion of the best hopes of man. It may be considered as giving too much in to refinement to intimate that the sectional prejudices which prevail in certain parts of the Union may be derived from hereditary antipathies and feelings, and that as the eastern States were chiefly settled by the Puritans or Roundheads of England, and the principal southern States by the Cavaliers or Royalists, a diversity of manners was entailed on their progeny, which has tended to increase and exasperate the ancient animosities that were at the same time transmitted. I shall not, although I should be fortified by the great names of Aristotle, Bacon, Berkeley, Buffon, and Montesquieu, reply on the operation of physical causes; although, perhaps, they are not without their influence. It was the opinion of the Stagyrite, that the climate of Greece was the best possible one for the production of great men. The Greeks, said he, hold a middle place in physical and moral qualities, as well as topographical situation, between the northern Europeans and the southern Asiatics; possessing the courage of the former, without their torpor of intellect, and the ingenuity of the latter, without their abject disposition. Lord Bacon has observed, that the inhabitants of the south are in general more ingenious than those of the north, but that where the native of a cold climate has genius, he rises to a higher pitch than can be realized by the southern wits. And Bishop Berkeley* has illustrated this opinion by comparing the southern wits to cucumbers, which are

* Berkeley's Minute Philosopher.

commonly all good in their kind, but at best are an insipid fruit, while the northern geniuses are like melons, of which not one in fifty is good, but when it is so it has an exquisite relish. However pertinent this doctrine may be where it was intended to apply, it can have but little weight in reference to us. The difference of latitude and temperature is not so great as to produce the predicated results; and so far as facts can be ascertained, they will not bear out the ascription. It is probable that the causes so much to be deprecated come under the denomination of moral, and are to be found in slavery; for wherever it prevails, it generates an anti-commercial and an anti-manufacturing spirit, and at the same time it produces a lofty sense of independence—which is among the strongest preservatives of our republican governments. In the other States, where commerce and manufactures are cultivated, as well as agriculture, there is no real collision of interest with the States purely agricultural. There is, on the contrary, an identity; and although the prosperity of each is the prosperity of all, yet jealousies will spring out of the legislative encouragement and protection of these great interests. To encourage the fabrics of art is to encourage the fabrics of nature; to protect manufactures is to advance the growth of the raw materials of which they are made; to countenance commerce is to countenance cheapness of transportation and goodness of market; and to promote the wealth of any member or section of the Union, is to enhance its ability to use the fabrics and to consume the productions of the other. The growing expansion of liberal feelings, and the illuminating progress of political philosophy, have had a salutary tendency in checking prejudices and antipathies, which have too much

prevailed. But little to our honor, I speak it with regret, they have been recently excited by a contest of equestrian swiftness. In the olympic games, where enlightened Greece assembled, where Homer recited his poem, and Thucydides his history, the laureled crown, the "*palma nobilis*"* was awarded to the man, not to the beast ; but the late display reminds us of the degenerate days of Rome, when a horse was raised to the honors of the consulship ; and of the *Prasini* and *Veneti*, the green and blue factions, which arose from those colors of livery in horse-races, and which accelerated, if not occasioned the ruin of the Greek empire.†

The necessity of counteracting the tendency of all human institutions to debasement ; of guarding with efficacious circumspection against the advances of anarchy and tyranny, and of preventing the evils to which we are peculiarly exposed, from expanded territory and geographical prejudices, must be obvious ; and for this purpose, it is essential to attend, with increased zeal, to the great interests of education, and to promote, with unrelaxed fervor, the sacred cause of science. Education includes moral as well as intellectual culture—the georgics of the heart as well of the head ; and we must emphatically look up to a general diffusion of knowledge as the palladium of a free government—the guarantee of the representative system, and the ægis of our federative existence.

Is it necessary, on this occasion, to show the important connection between science and all the arts, which contribute to the sustenance, the accommodation, and the embellishment of human life ? The analytic researches of chemistry have opened to us a knowledge of the constitu-

* Horace.

† Gibbon.

ent parts of soils, minerals, vegetables, and other substances, and have developed their useful application. From the first conception of the propulsion of vessels by steam, by the Marquis of Worcester, to its consummation by Fulton, how slow was the progress—how difficult the accomplishment! And this could never have been effected had it not received the aids of chemical discovery, of mathematical calculation, and of mechanical philosophy. All that relates to the economy of labor by machinery—to the facilitation of intercourse by canals and bridges—to naval, civil, and military architecture—to the improvement of agriculture—to the advancement of the mechanic arts—must be derived directly or indirectly from scientific research.

It is an ordinance of heaven, that man must be employed or be unhappy. Mental or corporeal labor is the destination of his nature ; and when he ceases to be active, he ceases to be useful, and descends to the level of vegetable life : and certainly those pursuits which call into activity his intellectual powers, must contribute most to his felicity, his dignity, and his usefulness. The vigorous direction of an active mind to the accomplishment of good objects, forms its most extatic delights. “*Hæc studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium præbent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.*”*

The honor and glory of a nation consists in the illustrious achievements of its sons in the cabinet and in the field, in the science and learning which compose the knowledge of man, in the arts and inventions which administer to his

* Cicero.

accommodation, and in the virtues which exalt his character. Scarcely two centuries have elapsed since the settlement of these United States, and in that period we have seen a WASHINGTON, a HENRY, a FRANKLIN, a RITTENHOUSE, and a FULTON—the most splendid names in war, in eloquence, in philosophy, in astronomy, and in mechanics, which the world has ever witnessed. The congress of patriots who proclaimed our independence in the face of an admiring world, and in the view of approving heaven, have descended, with three exceptions, to the grave ; and in this illustrious band were comprised more virtue, and wisdom, and patriotism, and energy, than in any association of ancient or modern times. I might proceed, and pronounce an eulogium on our savans who have illustrated philosophy and the exact sciences ; on our literati, who have explored the depths and ascended the heights of knowledge ; on our poets, who have strung the lyre of Appollo ; on our painters, who have combined the sublime and the beautiful in the graphic art ; on our statesmen, who have taught the ways and the means of establishing the greatest happiness of the greatest number ; and on our theologians, who have vindicated the ways of God to man. But I forbear. The task of selection is at all times invidious ; and most of the distinguished men to whom I allude are still living, and probably some of them are now present ; and I ought certainly neither to offend their modesty nor violate my sense of self-respect by the obtrusion of praise which is not required by the occasion, and which will be more suitably, and unquestionably most liberally, dispensed by future times.

When we consider the small areas in which the insignia of human greatness have been displayed, we will find

equal cause for astonishment and exultation. Attica was not more extensive than some of our counties, and the whole of Greece did not exceed this State in dimensions. Rome, for a long period, did not cover as great an extent ; and the Swiss Cantons, the United Netherlands, and England, when compared with the illustrious men and the illustrious deeds of which they can boast, are of a very limited space. The United States contain more than a twentieth part of the land of this globe, and not 600,000 square miles less than the whole of Europe. The Deity has placed us on a mighty continent ; the plastic hand of nature has operated on a stupendous scale ; our rivers and lakes, our cataracts and mountains, our soil and climate, bear the impress of greatness, of fertility, of salubrity. In this spacious theater, replete with the sublime and the beautiful, let us act a correspondent part. This State, which now has a population of a million and a half, is capable of supporting ten millions of souls ; and before this century closes, this maximum will be attained. And if in the councils of the Almighty it is decreed that we shall continue to advance in all that can render a people intelligent and virtuous, prosperous and happy, with what reverence will posterity regard the memory of those who have laid the foundation of such greatness and renown !

The elementary parts of education in common schools are the substrata of the studies of the academy and the college—and then again, the acquisition of those institutions become the basis of professional pursuits in divinity, law, or medicine, and the foundation of that information which leads to more momentous advances in the cabinet, the senate, or the field—which penetrates the regions of discovery and invention, and which enlightens the world

by literary disquisition and scientific investigation. Giving full credit to all the benefits derived from the prescribed courses of collegiate studies, perhaps the faculties of young men are more powerfully evolved by institutions like the present, which generate habits of observation and reflection, and which produce ability in composition and facility in public speaking. And equally striking are the benefits of the extensive libraries within reach, where the "relics of the ancient saints of literature, full of true virtue and without delusion or imposture,"* and the oblations and offerings of the votaries of learning in other times are preserved.

The field of honor and usefulness is now before you. Whatever direction you take, whatever course you adopt, it is in your power to become eminent. The first man in his profession is often absolutely, and always relatively, a great man. In this country particularly, every man has it in his power to be the architect of his own fortune. And when he rises, let him ascend the pyramid of greatness, not by the creeping tortuous windings of the reptile, but by the sublime flight of the bird of Jove. The eagle erects his eyrie on the mountain top, looks at the sun with undazzled eyes, and defies the thunder and the storm. The serpents creeps on the earth, hides in the cavern, and sinks into torpidity.

Without referring to the inducements for exertion arising from the successful enterprise of our citizens at home, it must be sufficient to animate you to active industry by pointing out the harvest of profit and glory which has been reaped abroad. *West*, of Pennsylvania, has delighted and astonished the world by his pictorial performances. *Mur-*

* Bacon.

ray, of New York, has written the best work on English Grammar, evincing a mind of the most lucid, discriminating, and arranging constitution, and he is now enjoying the rewards of his piety and erudition, in the smiles of an approving conscience and the plaudits of good men. *Perkins*, of Massachusetts, is now pushing that wonderful invention, the steam-engine, to the utmost verge of perfection. Many of our enterprising youth are now traversing sea and land in the pursuit of science: some are seated in the celebrated schools of medicine and natural science—some are in the great cities, examining the fabrics of art, the machinery and process of manufacturing, the movements and evolutions of commerce, and the complex relations of political economy. Others are moving in different directions; improving their information in agriculture, their taste in the fine arts, and adding to their knowledge of men and things. A late writer* mentions that at a popular point of his tour in Swizerland, it appeared from a register which he consulted, that even in that sequestered region the proportion of American travellers was respectable.

The revolution in navigation is the most astonishing portion of history. Wherever great communications can be maintained by water, the seats of commerce and navigation, of dense population and extensive dominion, will be established at those places. Before the discovery of the magnet, navigation was generally within sight of land. Who does not smile when he reads of the ten years wanderings and sufferings of Ulysses from Ilium in Asia Minor to the little island of Ithaca—which, within a few years, has been taken possession of by a British sergeant and

* Simond.

his guard*—and of the terrific and appalling adventures of the pious Æneas in a voyage from the former place to Italy? If an epic poem were now written, conceived by the sublime genius of Homer, and matured by the embellished taste and correct judgment of Virgil, describing in “thoughts that breathe and words that burn,”† the voyage of a hero, full of emprise and pregnant with danger, from the city of New York to the island of St. Domingo, or the mouth of the Mississippi‡ (the full distance of the progress of Ulysses and Æneas), although it might be sustained by all the interest arising from important episodes and preternatural machinery, yet the essence of the poem would be so absurd that no genius or management could protect it from the hue and cry of universal contempt. The Mediterranean Sea was the locus of ancient navigation, and on its borders sprung up in succession the four great monarchies—the Assyrian, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman: and “all our religion—almost all our law—almost all our arts—almost all that sets us above savages, have come to us from the shores of the Mediterranean.”‡ The mariner’s compass has opened the gates of the great oceans, and the enterprising spirit formerly imprisoned in a small space has spread over the globe, carrying with it the riches of commerce and the refinements of knowledge. A voyage to Europe is now considered an excursion of pleasure: a voyage to China is viewed as a common occurrence; and even a voyage of circumnavigation round the globe, which was formerly contemplated with more apprehension than all the labors of Hercules, passes without much observation. This spirit has extended to all modes of travelling, and all objects of dis-

* Hobhouse’s Travels.

† Gray.

‡ Dr. Johnson.

covery. The application of steam to the propulsion of boats, the establishment of swift packets, the improvement of natural and the creation of artificial water courses, have produced the approximation of remote places, and substituted contiguity in lieu of distance. In former times, and within the recollection of some who hear me, a voyage to Oswego, or a journey to Niagara, was considered a difficult and bold enterprise, and the island of Michilimackinack was viewed as the ultima Thule of America. All parts of the world are now explored by American enterprise: and if we reap so nobly the fruits of our industry and capacity in exertions abroad, a much more extensive harvest of glory remains for our operations at home.

Linnæus has truly observed, that "what we know of the Divine works are much fewer than those of which we are ignorant." The first edition of his *Species Plantarum* contained only 7300 plants, and now upwards of 50,000 are enumerated; and it is almost certain that our forests, our marshes, and our mountains, contain the most interesting nondescripts. Zoology has been very partially cultivated. Almost all our mammalia, many of our fishes, amphibia and birds, have been arranged and described. Entomology has been, I may say, altogether overlooked; and mineralogy and geology present unbounded scope for investigation. In some of our great seminaries of instruction, the elements of natural science are taught, and our young physicians generally go into active life with initiatory information. We have lyceums established in various places, which will serve as schools of natural history, and as depositories of its treasures. Wherever a subject has been properly and scientifically described, it can

always be recognized from the description. But here the functions of the philosopher do not terminate. The species is, to be sure, determined—its generic character ascertained, and it is enrolled by a name in its appropriate order and class; but a still more expanded field of observation and inquiry remain: you are introduced to a stranger; his name is announced, and you have observed his external form and manners; but can you be said to understand his character until you have sounded the depths and shallows of his mind, and examined the good and bad qualities of his heart—the variations of his conduct—the impulses, predilections and prejudices which tinge the color of his life, and the variety of lights and shades which enter into the composition of his character? In like manner, you see a mineral, a plant, or an animal—may learn its name, and understand its scientific arrangements; but your knowledge of it would be very imperfect, and almost altogether useless, unless you proceed further, and investigate its habitations and localities—its properties and uses; and, if an organized being, its manners, its morals, and its habits. And owing to the neglect of these obvious and important considerations, natural science has not attained its merited rank in the scale of utility, and in the estimation of the public. The prodigal creation of genera, the preposterous multiplication of species, the adoption of new nomenclatures, the augmentation of synonymes, and the conversion of varieties into species, and of species into genera, have darkened the science with myriads of useless and barbarous terms—have sullied its lustre, and depreciated its sterling merits. “If every minute difference, every trifling variation,” said Linnæus in a letter to

Haller, "is to establish a new species, why should I delay to exhibit ten thousand such species?"

Vanity furnishes a sufficient fund of inducement for this ridiculous course. A new species, or a new genus, entitles the nomenclator to the honors of a discovery; and in acting the godfather, he will probably select the name of a friend, and expect in time the return of the compliment. The dealers in specimens have also a direct interest in the increase and confusion of nomenclature. For every new name of the same substance, an addition may be made to the stock of their commodities, and the range of their sales. But the honors of a new system of arrangement are too flattering and transcendant not to be attempted; and the consequence is, that the system of Linnaeus has been mutilated, and in a great degree displaced, and new ones substituted, which have introduced the reign of chaos and old night into natural science. It has indeed in some instances been judiciously modified, and greatly meliorated. But better for the cause of knowledge to have an uniform system with many defects, than to be perplexed and embarrassed with a diversity. We can travel on one highway without losing ourselves, but if we are bewildered by many roads and bye-paths, our progress will be slow, uncertain, and erroneous. When philosophy consists in words and not in things, it loses its body and becomes a shadow—it changes the real for the nominal. And it is not too uncharitable to say, that the philosophers of terminology assume the physiognomy of knowledge and conceal the absence of ideas by the use of hard words, as the cuttle-fish merges itself in concealment by the dark fluid which it emits.

This endless jargon of nomenclature—this “rudis indigestaque moles”* of science, has imposed a moral duress upon the freedom of the mind, and the votary of nature cannot penetrate the adytum of its holy temple without encountering the same obstacles which the knight of chivalry had to sustain when he endeavored to force his way into an enchanted castle, through the opposition of dragons, lions, giants and genii, gorgons, hydras, and chimeras dire ; and the human mind, borne down with a load of verbiage, is doomed to suffer an intellectual torture, like prisoners in England, who, on their arraignment, refusing to plead, and standing mute, were sentenced to undergo the *peine forte et dure*, and to be smothered to death under weights piled on their recumbent bodies. And unquestionably these innovations are as deteriorating as the scholastic philosophy introduced by the commentators on Aristotle ; a philosophy of words and notions, distinctions and subtleties, abstract ideas and occult qualities, that either covered the intellectual world with darkness, or glimmered like shadows in the twilight, which the eye could hardly distinguish from the surrounding gloom. All such proceedings would indicate “as if there were sought in knowledge a couch whereupon to rest an uneasy spirit ; or for a terrace for a wandering mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect ; or a tower of state for a proud mind to rest itself upon ; or a fort, or commanding ground, for strife and contention ; or a ship for profit or sale ; and not a rich store-house for the glory of God and the benefit of man.”†

Shall we then call on some transcendant genius to dispel the darkness ? some intellectual Hercules, to purify

* Ovid.

† Bacon.

the Augean stable? some mighty Bacon to act the great deliverer?

The great deliverer he! who from the gloom
Of cloister'd monks and jargon-teaching schools,
Led forth the true philosophy—here long
Held in the magic chain of words and forms,
And definitions void: He led her forth,
Daughter of heaven:—that, slow ascending, still
Investigating sure the chain of things,
With radiant finger points to heav'n again.*

This gloomy representation must not, however, produce despondence, and the amateur need not take the Leucadian leap, in despair of attaining the object of his fond devotions. The leading savans of France have combined to restore the botanical part of the Linnæan system. A general disgust is rising up against the mummery of science, and time and light will soon exercise a sanative power over the disease.

Some foreign governments have now in this country agents to collect our productions. Scientific foreigners are now exploring it with microscopic eyes; and some standard works have proceeded from their pens. *Pursh*, and the *Michaux* in botany, and *Wilson* in ornithology, may be mentioned as peculiarly meritorious.

Mineralogy has also attracted great attention from abroad, as well as at home. And we can boast of *Cleveland*, whose work gives an admirable view of the science; and of *Silliman*, in natural history generally, whose periodical publications reflect lustre on the investigating spirit of our country. It requires more practice than genius to detect the nature of minerals; and no person

* Thompson.

need despair of success, whether he proceed to the development by external appearance, chemical analysis, crystalline structure, or optical character. Geology treats of the structure and relative position of the substances which compose the crust of the earth; forms an admirable illustration of the power, wisdom, and benevolence of the Deity, and so far as it rests on ascertained phenomena, is in perfect accordance with the cosmogony of Moses. In cultivating it, we ought particularly to follow the inductive mode of Bacon, and to attend exclusively to facts. It may amuse the imagination to read the romances of scientific men, in the shape of theories of the earth. Whether this earth is an extinguished sun, or a vitrified globe, or an animal possessed of living faculties, or a splinter of the sun, or a concoction of chemical affinities and mechanical deposition, or, by falling into the great deep, has been split into a thousand fragments, or been disorganized and shattered by the impingement of a comet, are inquiries little calculated to instruct the understanding. The specious figments of genius, and the erratic flights of philosophy, may excite our wonder, but they cannot stand the ordeal of scrutiny, or the Lydian touch of experiment.

Time will scarcely permit even a short allusion to the exact sciences, agriculture and the mechanic arts, polite literature, the fine arts, and political philosophy: all of which open subjects of the most interesting character, that bear directly upon the general welfare: and all of them present the strongest incentives to the love of fame,* which is the great principle of the noble mind, and the last that it resigns. It is a common remark, that, "*nihil dictum quod non dictum prius*," and some are even so

* Tacitus.

absurb as to suppose, that the stock of original ideas is exhausted. Much, no doubt, has been anticipated, but it is equally true that much remains untouched and unnoticed. Some of the greatest discoveries have been so contemporaneous that it has been impossible to establish a charge of plagiarism. Many ideas are original, as it respects the author, and yet are not new : in which case the conception is more vivid, and the impression more powerful than when of a derivative character. The infinite combinations of which the mind is susceptible—the lights and shades which the imagination can cast upon all subjects, and the powerful action of the understanding, in measuring the relations of ideas, in surveying the constitutions of things, in penetrating the secrets of nature, and developing the properties of mind and matter, furnish conclusive evidence of the progressive improvement of our faculties, and of their capacity to elicit new ideas on all subjects, and to make discoveries of all kinds. Some inventions are the offspring of accident—as gunpowder, printing, and the mariner's compass. Others are the result of a happy impulsé. Some assume maturity at the first inception, like Pallas, who sprung from the head of Jove, completely armed with the panoply of wisdom. While most discoveries have proceeded gradually to perfection, like our majestic Hudson, which, although small in its origin, yet, by the addition of fresh streams in its career to the ocean, becomes at last able to bear ships of the greatest burden. We are as prone to shoot beyond as to shoot short of the mark ; and nothing is more pernicious to the discovery of truth, than a refining and sophisticating spirit, which infects every subject with its perverse and diminutive views.

An illustrious writer* has well observed, that "men are accustomed to take a prospect of nature from some higher tower, to view her at a distance, and to be too much absorbed in generalities. Whereas if they would vouchsafe to descend, approach nearer to particulars, and more exactly and considerately look into things themselves, there might be a more true and valuable comprehension and discovery." And let it be understood, "that the wonders of nature lie out of the high road and beaten paths, so that the very absurdity of an attempt may sometimes be felicitous."* The mind, matured by deep and continual meditation, enlightened by wise and learned conversation, and fertilized by judicious and extensive reading, resembles that splendid metal which was formed from the fusion of many minerals in that great conflagration at Corinth. Like the crucible of the alchymist, it will indeed aspire to creative power: like the deflagrator and the galvanic battery, it pursues nature into the most occult recesses, and tortures her into a confession of her most important secrets; and like the poet's eye, it glances from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven, and as imagination bodies forth the forms of things unknown, turns them to shape, and gives to airy nothing a local habitation and a name.†

Let us then be vigilant and active in the great and holy cause of knowledge. The field of glory stretches before you in wide expanse. Untrodden heights and unknown lands surround you. Waste not, however, your energies on subjects of a frivolous nature, of useless curiosity, or impracticable attainment. Books have been multiplied to designate the writer of Junius; the man in the Iron Mask

* Bacon.

† Shakspeare.

has exercised the inquisitorial attention of Europe; and perpetual motion, the philosopher's stone, and the immortal elixir, have destroyed the lives and fortunes of thousands. Genuine philosophy has sometimes its aberrations, and like the Spartan king or Roman emperor, mingles in the amusements of children. The sceptre of science is too often surrounded by toys and baubles, and even Linnæus condescended to amuse his fancy with the creation of vegetable dials and oriental pearls. Innovation without improvement, and experiments without discoveries, are the rocks on which ingenuity is too often shipwrecked.

"Omne ignotum pro magnifico,"* said the profound historian of Rome. Wonder is the child of ignorance, and vanity is the offspring of imbecility. Let us be astonished at nothing but our own apathy; and cease to be vain even of our virtues. The fragrance of the humble lilly of the valley, and of the retiring eglantine of the woods, is more grateful to genuine taste than the expressed odor of the queen of flowers, or the most costly products of the chemical alembic.

In our literary pursuits, let us equally reject a blind credulity that believes every fable, and a universal pyrrhonism that repudiates all truths—a canine appetite which devours every thing however light, and digests nothing however alimentary—and a fastidious taste, which delights not in the nutritious viand, but seeks its gratification in the aromatic dessert.

The waters of ancient learning ought to be drunk at the fountain head in preference to the streams. We are too prone to rely on references, quotations, abridgments

* Tacitus.

and translations. The consequence is, that the meaning of the original frequently reaches us in a perverted or erroneous shape—its ethereal spirit evaporates by a change of conveyance, and we lose our acquaintance with the learned languages. A fault equally common, and more humiliating, is an idolatrous veneration for the literary men of Europe. This intellectual vassalage has been visited by high-toned arrogance and malignant vituperation. Harmless indeed is the calumny, and it recoils from the object like the javelin thrown by the feeble hand of old Priam ; but it ought to combine with other inducements to encourage a vernacular literature, and to cause us to bestow our patronage upon more meritorious works of our own country. We have writers of genius and erudition, who form a respectable profession. Some have ascended the empyreal heights of poesy, and have gathered the laurel wreaths of genius ; others have trodden the enchanted ground of fictitious narrative, and have been honored by the tears of beauty and the smiles of virtue ; while several have unfolded the principles of science, literature, philosophy, jurisprudence, and theology, and have exalted the intellectual glory of America. Let us cherish the hope, that some at least will devote their faculties to improve those arts and sciences on which the substantial interests of our country so greatly depend. I refer particularly to agriculture, civil engineering, and naval architecture. Let us also trust that some vigorous minds will apply their powers to the illustration of our history. It has been said, with more point than truth, that the annals of modern colonies afford but two memorable events—the foundation, and the separation from the parent country.*

* Humboldt.

If this observation had been so qualified as to refer to those occurrences as the most memorable, not as the only memorable events, it would undoubtedly have been correct. The colonial history of New York, although imperfectly executed, and brought down only to 1732, is fertile of instruction and replete with interest. The translations of the erudite *Vanderkemp*, and the collections of the Historical Society of New York, have furnished the most ample materials; and whenever it is given to the world by a master hand, it will be a complete refutation of the remark which I have quoted. Is it too much too say that we have no good history of the United States, and that the best account of our independence is written by Botta, an Italian? At this moment, a respectable mechanic of the city of London is collecting the materials for writing our history. He is favorably noticed by distinguished members of Parliament; and although his mind has not been disciplined by a liberal education, yet its productions display vigorous and cultivated powers. Let this stimulate us to similar and animated exertions, and let not our writers despair of ultimate success, even if their efforts are attended with partial failures. Experience certainly brightens the vista of futurity; but they must expect that their fate will be determined sooner or later by intrinsic merit. Those writings that emit no effulgence and communicate no information will fall still-born from the press, and plunge at once into the abyss of obscurity. Others again will dazzle as they glide rapidly over the literary horizon, and be seen no more. Some, after basking in the meridian sunshine, will gradually undergo a temporary eclipse; but time will dispense justice, and restore their original splendor.

So sinks the day-star in the ocean's bed,
And yet anon repairs his drooping head,
And tricks his beams, and with new spangled ore,
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky.*

A fortunate few are always in the full blaze of sublime glory ; they are the phœnixes of the age, the elect of genius, and the favorites of nature and heaven.

There is nothing "under Heaven's wide hollowness,"† which does not furnish aliment for the mind. All that we observe by the organs of sense, and all that we perceive by the operations of the understanding—all that we contemplate in retrospect, at the present or in the future, may be compounded or decomposed in the intellectual laboratory, for beneficial purposes. The active mind is always vigilant, always observing. The original images which are created by a vivid imagination, the useful ideas which are called up by memory, and the vigorous advances of the reasoning power into the regions of disquisition and investigation, furnish full employment for the most powerful mind ; and after it is fully stored with all the productions of knowledge, then the intellect has to employ its most important functions in digesting and arranging the vast and splendid materials. And if there be any thing in this world which can administer pure delight, it is when we summon our intellectual resources, rally our mental powers, and proceed to the investigation of a subject distinguished for its importance and complexity, and its influence on the destinies of man.

If science were to assume a visible form, like the fabled muses of the ancient mythology, all men would be ready to exclaim with the poet—

* Milton.

† Spenser.

——— Her angel's face,
 As the great eye of Heaven shined bright,
 And made a sunshine in a shady place ;
 Did never mortal eye behold such heavenly grace.*

But alas ! it is a blessing not without its alloy. Its sedentary occupations, and its severe exercises of the mind, impair the health ; and hypochondria, the Promethean vulture of the student, poisons for a time all the sources of enjoyment. Add to this, the tortures of hope deferred, and of expectation disappointed. After nights without sleep, and days without repose, in the pursuit of a favorite investigation—after tasking the mind, and stretching all its faculties to the utmost extent of exertion, when the golden vision of approaching fame dazzles the eye in the distance, and the hand is extended to taste the fruit and to reap the harvest, the airy castles, the gorgeous palaces of the imagination, vanish like enchanted ground, and disappear like the baseless fabric of a vision.

From such perversities of fortune, the sunshine of comfort may, however, be extracted. In the failure of a scientific investigation, collateral discoveries of great moment have been made. And as an eminent philosopher† has well remarked, “ What succeeds pleaseth more, but what succeeds not, many times informs no less.” And in the worst position, the mind is improved, sharpened, expanded, brightened, and strengthened, by the processes which it has undergone, and the elaborations which it has experienced.

We must not then expect
 A perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets,
 Where no crude surfeit reigns.‡

* Spenser.

† Bacon.

‡ Milton.

But we may confidently pronounce that a cornucopia of blessings will attend the diffusion of knowledge ; that it will have an electrifying effect on all sources of individual happiness and public prosperity ; that glory will follow in the train of its felicitous cultivation, and that the public esteem, in perennial dispensation, will crown its votaries.

This State enjoys a temperate climate and a fruitful soil, and, situate between the great lakes on the north and west, and the ocean on the south and east, ought always to be the seat of plenty and salubrity. It requires nothing but the enlightened evolution of its faculties and resources to realize the beau-ideal of perfection ; and the coöperation of man with the bounty of Providence will render it a terrestrial paradise : and this must be effected through the agency of intellectual, operating on physical exertion.

In this grand career of mind, in this potent effort of science, in this illustrious display of patriotism, contributions will flow in from all quarters. The humble mite will be acceptable as well as the golden talent. And the discriminating, perspicacious, and comprehensive eye of intellect will find

Tongues in trees ; books in the running brooks ;
Sermons in stones ; and good in every thing.*

Indeed, the very ground on which we stand affords topics for important consideration and useful application. This city was among the earliest seats of European settlement. It was at the head of a great portage, reaching from the termination of the navigable waters of the west to the head waters of the Hudson, It was the great en-

* Shakspeare.

trepot of the valuable trade in furs and peltries, and the thoroughfare of commercial adventurers, of scientific explorations, and of military expeditions. In 1690, it was destroyed by an irruption of French and Indians. The lives of many of its inhabitants were saved as it were by a special interposition of Providence : and the sympathizing and pathetic speech of the faithful Mohaws on that melancholy occasion, may be ranked among the most splendid effusions of oratory.* The alluvial lands of the river, rich as the soil formed by the overflowings of the Nile, were the principal residence of that ferocious and martial race, the true old heads of the Iroquois—a confederacy which carried terror, havoc, and desolation from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico ; and which aspired to universal empire over the savage nations. How astonished would that people be, if they could be summoned to life, to witness the flowing of the waters of the west through this place, seeking, in a navigable shape, a new route to the Atlantic Ocean—carrying on their bosom the congregated products of nature and art, and spreading, as they proceed, wealth and prosperity.

All alluvial ground formed by streams emanating from a distance, and reinforced in their transit by auxiliary waters, must be fertile not only in soil, but abundant in the various productions of the vegetable kingdom. The germs of plants will be transported from remote quarters ; and the gorges and ravines, formed in many places by intersecting streams, will not only protect particular spots from the ravages of the plow, but open the treasures of the mineral kingdom by the profound excavations of the water and the transportation of distant fossils. Here,

* Colden's History of the Five Nations.

then, is a proper region for interesting discovery. Strange trees now flourish on the banks of the river; many a flower is born to blush unseen, and many a curious production has never undergone scientific scrutiny.

Here has been established a great seminary of education, which in less than thirty years has risen to an extraordinary altitude of excellence; which unites the ardor of youthful enthusiasm with the wisdom of experienced longevity, and the celebrity of confirmed usefulness, and which, by an able diffusion of the light of knowledge and a dexterous management of the helm of government, has already produced scholars who adorn and illumine the walks of science and literature, the pursuits of professional life, and the councils of our country.

In this vicinity flourished Sir *William Johnson*, one of the extraordinary characters of our colonial history. He settled near the banks of the Mohawk, and from humble beginnings he acquired great celebrity, particularly in war; immense wealth, and the favor of his sovereign. Auspicious events, in concurrence with a paramount influence over the Indians, and great energy of character, laid the foundation and erected the superstructure of his fortunes. In this place lived and died that eminent servant of God, the Rev. *Dr. Romeyn*, the fragrance of whose virtues is still cherished in your hearts and felt in your lives. His venerable form, his dignified deportment, his eye beaming goodness, and his voice uttering wisdom, are still fresh in your minds; so impressive is the power of combined virtue and intelligence. *Dr. Dwight*, the greatest theologian of the age, has pronounced his eulogium; and it remains for biography to perform its functions, and to fill up the outlines so ably drawn by one of the most acute

observers and profound thinkers which our country has produced.*

Finally, whatever may be our thoughts, our words, our writings, or our actions, let them all be subservient to the promotion of science and the prosperity of our country. Pleasure is a shadow, wealth is vanity, and power a pageant; but knowledge is ecstatic in enjoyment, perennial in fame, unlimited in space, and infinite in duration. In the performance of its sacred offices, it fears no danger, spares no expense, omits no exertion. It scales the mountains, looks into the volcano, dives into the ocean, perforates the earth, wings its flight into the skies, encircles the globe, explores sea and land, contemplates the distant, examines the minute, comprehends the great, and ascends the sublime. No place too remote for its grasp—no heavens too exalted for its reach. “Its seat is the bosom of God—its voice the harmony of the world. All things in Heaven and earth do it homage—the very least as feeling its care, and the greatest as not exempt from its power. Both angels, and men, and creatures, of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent, admiring it as the parent of peace and happiness.”†

* Dwight's Travels.

† Hooker.

APPENDIX, NO. 1.

(From Smith's History of New York, page 46.)

Monsieur De La Barre's Speech, addressed to Garaugula, an Onondaga Chief, the Indians and French officers at the same time forming a circle round about him.

“ The king, my master, being informed that the Five Nations have often infringed the peace, has ordered me to come hither with a guard, and to send Ohguesse to the Onondagas, to bring the chief sachems to my camp. The intention of the great king is, that you and I may smoke the calumet of peace together ; but on this condition, that you promise me, in the name of the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, and Mohawks, to give entire satisfaction and reparation to his subjects, and for the future never to molest them.

“ The Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks, have robbed and abused all the traders that were passing to the Illinois and Miamies, and other Indian nations, the children of my king ; they have acted, on these occasions, contrary to the treaty of peace with my predecessor. I am ordered, therefore, to demand satisfaction ; and to tell them, that in case of refusal, or their plundering us any more, that I have express orders to declare war. This belt confirms my words. The warriors of the Five Nations have conducted the English into the lakes, which belong to the king, my master, and brought the English among the nations that are his children to destroy the trade of

his subjects, and to withdraw these nations from him. They have carried the English thither, notwithstanding the prohibition of the late Governor of New York, who foresaw the risk that both they and you would run. I am willing to forget those things; but if ever the like should happen for the future, I have express orders to declare war against you. This belt confirms my words. Your warriors have made several barbarous incursions on the Illinois and Miamies. They have massacred men, women, and children; they have made many of these nations prisoners, who thought themselves safe in their villages in time of peace. These people, who are my king's children, must not be your slaves: you must give them their liberty, and send them back into their own country. If the Five Nations shall refuse to do this, I have express orders to declare war against them. This belt confirms my words.

“This is what I have to say to Garangula, that he may carry to the Senecas, Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Mohawks, the declaration which the king, my master, has commanded me to make. He doth not wish them to force him to send a great army to Cadarackui Fort, to begin a war, which must be fatal to them. He would be sorry that this fort, that was the work of peace, should become the prison of your warriors. We must endeavor on both sides to prevent such misfortunes. The French, who are the brethren and friends of the Five Nations, will never trouble their repose, provided that the satisfaction which I demand be given; and that the treaties of peace be hereafter observed. I shall be extremely grieved if my words do not produce the effect which I expect from them; for then I shall be obliged to join with the Governor of New York, who is commanded by his master to assist me, and burn the castles of the Five Nations, and destroy you. This belt confirms my words.”

Garangula, after walking five or six times round the circle,

answered the French Governor, who sat in an elbow chair, in the following strain :

“ YONNONDIO,

“ I honor you, and the warriors that are with me likewise honor you. Your interpreter has finished your speech : I now begin mine. My words make haste to reach your ears ; hearken to them.

“ Yonnondio, you must have believed, when you left Quebec, that the sun had burnt up all the forests which render our country inaccessible to the French, or that the lakes had so far overflowed the banks that they had surrounded our castles, and that it was impossible for us to get out of them. Yes, Yonnondio, surely you must have dreamt so ; and the curiosity of seeing so great a wonder has brought you so far. Now you are undeceived, since that I and the warriors here present, are come to assure you that the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks, are yet alive. I thank you in their name for bringing back into their country the calumet which your predecessor received from their hands. It was happy for you that you left under ground that murdering hatchet which has been so often dyed in the blood of the French. Hear, Yonnondio : I do not sleep ; I have my eyes open, and the sun which enlightens me, discovers to me a great captain at the head of a company of soldiers, who speaks as if he were dreaming. He says that he only came to the lake to smoke on the great calumet with the Onondagas ; but Garangula says that he sees the contrary ; that it was to knock them on the head if sickness had not weakened the arms of the French.

“ I see Yonnondio raving in a camp of sick men, whose lives the Great Spirit has saved by inflicting this sickness on them. Hear, Yonnondio : our women had taken their clubs, our children and old men had carried their bows and arrows into the heart of your camp, if our warriors had not disarmed them, and

kept them back, when your messenger Ohguesse came to our castles. It is done, and I have said it. Hear, Yonnondio: we plundered none of the French but those that carried guns, powder, and ball to the Twightwies and Chictaghicks, because those arms might have cost us our lives. Herein we follow the example of the Jesuits, who stove all the kegs of rum brought to our castles, lest the drunken Indians should knock them on the head. Our warriors have not beaver enough to pay for all these arms that they have taken; and our old men are not afraid of the war. This belt preserves my words.

“We carried the English into our lakes to trade there with the Utawawas and Quatoghies as the Andirondacks brought the French to our castles to carry on a trade, which the English say is theirs. We are born free. We neither depend on Yonnondio nor Corlear.

“We may go where we please, and carry with us whom we please. If your allies be your slaves, use them as such. Command them to receive no other but your people. This belt preserves my words.

“We knocked the Twightwies and Chictaghicks on the head because they had cut down the trees of peace which were the limits of our country. They had hunted beavers on our land. They had acted contrary to the customs of all Indians; for they left none of the beavers alive: they killed both male and female. They brought the Satanas into the country to take part with them, after they had concerted ill designs against us. We have done less than either the English or French, that have usurped the lands of so many Indian nations, and chased them from their own country. This belt preserves my words.

Hear, Yonnondio; what I say is the voice of all the Five Nations: hear what they answer. Open your ears to what they speak. The Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and the Mohawks say, that when they buried the hatchet at Cadarackui (in the presence of your predecessor) in the middle of

the fort, they planted the tree of peace in the same place, to be there carefully preserved, that in place of a retreat for soldiers, that fort might be a rendezvous for merchants ; that in place of arms and ammunition of war, beavers and merchandize should only enter there.

“ Hear, Yonnondio : take care for the future, that so great a number of soldiers as appear there, do not choke the tree of peace planted in so small a fort. It will be a great loss if after it had so easily taken root you should stop its growth, and prevent its covering your country and ours with its branches. I assure you, in the name of the Five Nations, that our warriors shall dance to the calumet of peace under its leaves, and shall remain quiet on their mats, and shall never dig up the hatchet till their brother Yonnondio, or Corlear, shall, either jointly or separately, endeavor to attack the country which the Great Spirit has given to our ancestors. This belt preserves my words ; and this other, the authority which the Five Nations have given me.”

Then Garangula, addressing himself to Monsieur La Main, said : “ Take courage, Ohguesse ; you have spirit, speak—explain my words ; forget nothing ; tell all that your brethren and friends say to Yonnondio, your governor, by the mouth of Garangula, who loves you, and desires you to accept of this present of beaver, and take part with me in my feast, to which I invite you. This present of beaver is sent to Yonnondio on the part of the Five Nations.

APPENDIX, NO. II.

Speech of the Mohawk Chiefs to the Magistrates of Albany, on the 25th of March, 1689-90, after the destruction of Schenectady.

“ BRETHREN,

“ The murder of our brethren at Schenectady, by the French, grieves us as much as if it had been done to ourselves, for we are in the same chain ; and no doubt our brethren of New England will be likewise sadly affected with this cruel action of the French. The French on this occasion have not acted like brave men, but like thieves and robbers. Be not therefore discouraged. We give this belt to wipe away your tears.

“ BRETHREN,

“ We lament the death of so many of our brethren, whose blood has been shed at Schenectady. We don't think that what the French have done can be called a victory, it is only a farther proof of their cruel deceit. The governor of Canada sends to Onondaga, and talks to us of peace with our whole house ; but war was in his heart, as you may now see by woeful experience. He did the same formerly at Cadaracui, and in the Senecas country. This is the third time he has acted so deceitfully. He has broken open our house at both ends, formerly in the Senecas country, and now here. We hope, however, to be revenged of them. One hundred of our bravest young men are

in pursuit of them : they are brisk fellows, and they will follow the French to their doors. We will beset them so closely that not a man in Canada shall dare to step out of doors to cut a stick of wood ; but now we gather up our dead to bury them, by this second belt.

“ BRETHREN,

“ We came from our castles with tears in our eyes, to bemoan the blood shed at Schenectady by the perfidious French. While we bury our dead murdered at Schenectady we know not what may have befallen our own people, that are in pursuit of the enemy : they may be dead. What has befallen you, may happen to us ; and therefore we come to bury our brethren at Schenectady with this third belt.

“ Great and sudden is the mischief, as if it had fallen from Heaven upon us. Our forefathers taught us to go with all speed to bemoan and lament with our brethren, when any disaster or misfortune happens to any in our chain. Take this belt of vigilance, that you may be more watchful for the future. We give our brethren eye-water, to make them sharp-sighted. (Giving a fourth belt.)

“ We now come to the house where we usually renew the chain ; but alas ! we find the house polluted with blood. All the Five Nations have heard of this, and we are come to wipe away the blood and clean the house. We come to invite Corlear, and every one of you, and Quider, (calling to every one of the principal men present by their names) to be revenged of the enemy by this fifth belt.

“ BRETHREN,

“ Be not discouraged ; we are strong enough. This is the beginning of your war, and the whole house have their eyes fixed upon you at this time, to observe your behavior. They

wait your motion, and are ready to join in any resolute measures.

“ Our chain is a strong chain ; it is a silver chain ; it can neither rust nor be broken. We, as to our parts, are resolute to continue the war.

“ We will never desist, so long as a man of us remains. Take heart ; do not pack up and go away ;* this will give heart to a dastardly enemy. We are of the race of the bear ; and a bear, you know, never yields while one drop of blood is left. We must all be bears. (Giving a sixth belt.)

“ BRETHREN,

“ Be patient ; this disaster is an affliction which has fallen from Heaven upon us. The sun, which hath been cloudy, and sent this disaster, will shine again with its pleasant beams. Take courage, courage—(Repeating the word several times as they gave a seventh belt.)

(*To the English.*)

“ BRETHREN,

“ Three years ago we were engaged in a bloody war with the French, and you encouraged us to proceed in it. Our success answered our expectation ; but we were not well begun when Corlear stopped us from going on. Had you permitted us to go on, the French would not now have been able to do us the mischief they have done—we would have prevented their sowing, planting, or reaping.

“ We would have humbled them effectually, but now we die. The obstructions you then made now ruin us. Let us after this be steady, and take no such false measures for the future, but prosecute the war vigorously. (Giving a beaver skin.)

“ The brethren must keep good watch, and if the enemy

* This was spoken to the English, who were about removing from Albany.

come again, send more speedily to us. Don't desert Schenectady. The enemy will glory in seeing it desolate. It will give them courage that had none before. Fortify the place; it is not well fortified now; the stockadoes are too short; the Indians can jump over them. (Gave a beaver skin.)

“BRETHREN,

“The mischief done at Schenectady cannot be helped now; but for the future, when the enemy appears any where, let nothing hinder your sending to us by expresses, and fire great guns, that all may be alarmed. We advise you to bring all the River Indians under your subjection, to live near Albany, to be ready on all occasions.

“Send to New England; tell them what has happened to you. They will undoubtedly awake, and lend us their helping hand. It is their interest, as much as ours, to push the war to a speedy conclusion. Be not discouraged; the French are not so numerous as some people talk. If we but heartily unite to push on the war, and mind our business, the French will soon be subdued.”

The magistrates having returned an answer on the 27th, to the satisfaction of the Indians, they repeated it all over, word by word, to let the magistrates see how carefully they minded, and then added:

“BRETHREN,

“We are glad to find you are not discouraged. The best and wisest men sometimes make mistakes. Let us now pursue the war vigorously. We have a hundred men out; they are good scouts. We expect to meet all the sachems of the other nations, as they come to condole with you. You need not fear our being ready at the first notice. Our ax is always in our hands; but take care that you be timely ready. Your ships, that must

do the principal work, are long a fitting out. We do not design to go out with a small company, or in skulking parties ; but as soon as the nations can meet, we shall be ready with our whole force. If you would bring this war to a happy issue, you must begin soon, before the French can recover the losses they have received from us, and get new vigor and life ; therefore send in all haste to New England. Neither you nor we can continue long in the condition we are now in : we must order matters so that the French be kept in continual fear and alarm at home ; for this is the only way to be secure, and in peace here.

“ The Scatikok Indians, in our opinion, are well placed where they are (to the northward of Albany ;) they are a good out-guard ; they are our children, and we must take care that they do their duty : but you must take care of the Indians below the town ; place them near the town, so as they may be of more service to you.”

APPENDIX, NO. III.

Substance of the Speech of Good Peter to Governor Clinton and the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, at Albany, on the occasion referred to in the discourse.

BROTHER governor of the State of New York, and all the other great chiefs of the State of New York, open your ears, and all you chiefs of the Five Nations here assembled, open your ears.

The business we have now met about is of the greatest importance ; how happy must we all be if we can arrange it for our mutual good.

We have this day assembled, and smoked our pipes in peace. That you may know the reason of my addressing you, I would inform you that my brethren, the Cayugas, and my children, the Senecas, requested me to be their mouth on this solemn occasion, and understanding that it is agreeable to the great chief of New York, I now stand here. You will possess your minds in peace, for I have no disposition to oppose you in any respect, but shall move forward in the strait path.

BROTHER CHIEF,

In the first place, I would inform you that last Spring we were invited to a treaty at Muskingum—where your voice also called upon us to attend : some of our nation went there, and have not yet returned.

When our uncles, the chiefs, left our council-fire, their only

business at Muskingum was the establishment of a good peace. This mission was agreeable to us all—even the warriors; for although the clouds blacken in the south, and the winds sometimes blow, yet as long as our sachems labor for a peace, the minds of our young men are composed.

This, great chief, I only observe, to open the way for what is to follow. Shortly after, the cloud from the south began to rise; we again saw the effulgence of the sun; but as soon as we saw it, an evil spirit commenced its work, threatening the annihilation of our territory.

BROTHER GOVERNOR,

Although I observed to you that an evil spirit had invaded our peace, yet do not suppose that the Five Nations were disposed to cherish this enemy; we were deceived: we believed it to be a good spirit, sent by the great council of the State, and we thought that we should not injure ourselves by opening our ears to their voice. This was indeed new to us, for never before had the Five Nations such a meeting with any of our brethren of this island. We had invariably conferred together according to ancient and settled usage.

It would be tedious to go into detail, and state at large the means by which we were misled. We cannot see but a small depth into the heart of man, and can only discover the work of his tongue. It appears that you then sensibly sympathized with us in our situation, and looking back to ancient times, endeavored to discover a method of recovering our sinking territory.

Soon after this the Oneida nation heard your voice. Although it was small at first, yet it gave us life to find that you would extend your arm and save our country. It informed us that you would kindle a council fire at Fort Stanwix, inform us of our situation, and relieve us of our difficulties. It also directed us to send it on to the other nations—which we did. At the

council fire at Fort Stanwix, but one nation, the Onondagas, attended ; there was a strange bird that flew about your voice, and related strange stories. This bird kept flying about while you held this council fire. After your patience had been exhausted in waiting several days, you then determined to take us, one by one, as we came to the council fire—and with this we were content.

When you had finished with the Onondagas, you then showed the agreement to us, the Oneidas, pointed out the true path, and opened our eyes. We then comprehended your sentiments as they were laid before us. You raised us from sinking into an unfathomable gulph, and placed us on a high mountain ; you erected a fortification around us, so that no evil spirits or strange birds could fly over and disturb us ; you completed an agreement to our mutual satisfaction : it is firm and unalterable—no evil spirit shall be able to erase the lines. We are now fixed, and dwell in peace.

I need not enlarge upon the council at Fort Stanwix, and the proceedings at that place. You remember you saw a few Senecas there. You welcomed them, although they were neither invited, nor sachems, but little children ; they then told you with what difficulty they leaped over the mound at Canasake.

You also remember, that when those Seneca young men left you, you gave them good advice. As your patience was not yet exhausted, and your love for the Five Nations continued in full force, you invited the Senecas, through them, to meet you at Albany this winter, to consult upon subjects connected with their welfare. You also requested their attendance from the remotest parts of the nation. They again heard your voice : you opened their eyes, and it pierced them to the heart to see their territory sinking, and that by and by the warriors would not be at liberty to hunt upon their land, and to provide for their women and children.

Soon after this, the headmen and warriors deliberated on our message, and determined that it would be for the good of the Five Nations, and prevent our utter destruction to repair to this place. Although some of our sachems have not returned from the southward, yet we are persuaded that our deliberations and proceedings will meet their approbation.

After frequent conferences with our brethren, the Senecas, we determined to repair to this ancient council fire ; we thought it agreeable to ancient usage to take with us two brothers of the Onondagas and Oneidas, as witnesses, to this place, where our ancestors kindled their council fires, the smoke of which reached the heavens, and round which they sat and talked of peace. I observed at first, that I should only touch upon one event after another. But need I call your attention to the councils and treaties held here by your and our forefathers. They then had but one head and one heart ; the chain of friendship was made of silver, so that it could not rust. Our ancestors, you know, frequently met to brighten this chain, with a design to see whether any evil spirit, that disturbs the peace of brethren, shook at it or sat upon it.

But I must leave this pleasant subject, the paths of our ancestors. You have seen some of our brethren of the Five Nations, the Cayugas ; you have opened your mind, and encouraged us to believe that you can save our sinking country ; and that if any of your people have overleaped the bounds prescribed, you can erase the lines. This has given us great encouragement and universal pleasure.

BROTHER GOVERNOR,

The Cayugas and Senecas here present, thank you from the bottom of our hearts, that you have communicated freely with us. When we heard your first and second voice we were glad ; but now we are quite rejoiced. It convinces us that you remembered and cherished the treaties between you and our

forefathers. The great spirit gave our ancestors and us this island, and we know that you are anxious to promote his design that we should have a place whereon to live. We love our country, and our fathers loved their country.

We said we were glad to meet you and hear your voice, and to feel assured that you are able to save our sinking territory : we now put it all under your power : put your hands over the whole, reserving to us such a dish as you shall prescribe for us. This is perfectly agreeable to the usages of our ancestors, who loved peace, and loved their land ; and why ? because they loved their women and their children ; and while they loved peace and their land they enjoyed happy days.

We repeat that we rejoice in this meeting and in these proceedings. Those we have left behind, and those that will return from the south, will also rejoice at the result of our conferences. Our little ones can now look with pleasure for fish in the streams, and our warriors can hunt for wild beasts in the woods, and feel confident that they will not be driven from their country. (A string of black wampum with six rows.)

BROTHER,

I have repeatedly said that I was glad to hear your mind ; your words have sunk deep into my heart, and have raised up my land and country, that were about to sink. I entreat you, by this string, to keep firm to your word, and to reach out your hand over my country. Our dish we will reserve. This transaction will rejoice not only our absent friends, but our children's children, to the latest generation. They will declare, with joy, that Aquilanda,* the governor of New York, has rescued their country from destruction. (A string of white wampum with six rows.)

* An Indian name given to Governor Clinton, which signifies *rising sun*.

You have heard our voice ; we now entreat you to open your ears, and hear a speech from our sisters, the governesses.

BROTHER,

Our ancestors considered it a great offence to reject the counsels of their women, particularly of the female governesses. They were esteemed the mistresses of the soil. *Who*, said our forefathers, bring us into being. *Who* cultivate our lands, kindle our fires, and boil our pots, but the women ?

Our women say, that they are apprehensive their uncles have lost the power of hunting, as they were about destroying their country ; but they take this opportunity of thanking you for preventing their fall down the precipice to which their uncles had brought them.

They entreat that the veneration of their ancestors, in favor of women, be not disregarded, and that they may not be despised : the Great Spirit is their maker.

The female governesses beg leave to speak with that freedom allowed to women, and agreeable to the spirit of our ancestors. They entreat the great chief to put forth his strength and preserve them in peace ; for they are the life of the nation ; your power cannot be disputed. Those that disturb them are your subjects, and you can punish them. They rejoice that while their counsellors are settling a peace at Muskingum, and you are here laboring for their good, tranquillity will spread over the whole country. (Six strings of wampum.)

Then Good Peter added :

BROTHER,

Possess your mind in peace. You are sensible that in affairs of importance omissions may be made, and that a person is allowed afterward to correct them.

You have greatly encouraged us, by promising to watch over

our peace, and to provide for our welfare. It is probable that when we have completed our business here, some bad men may break over the fence you have set around us. . There are, excuse us brother, some bad men among the white people of this island ; they may not hear your voice as far as our country : we therefore propose that Peter Ryckman, our child, may live among us in your behalf, look at our affairs, and watch over our interests.

You have now heard our minds, and the resolutions we had formed before we left our country. I only act here as an agent, by the request of my brothers, the Cayugas, and I am now released from my engagements.





DUE DATE

OCT 14 REC'D - MAY 31 1995
SEP 30 1992

SEP 30 1991

MAY 28 1994

SEP 05 REC'D

SEP 30 1994

FEB 15 1992

FEB 21 2002

FEB 14 1992

MAY 29 1992

SEP 15 1992

SEP 30 1993

FEB 12 1993

SEP 25 1993

FEB 15 1994

JUN 01 1993

FEB 11 1994

MAY 31 1994

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